

This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
3 3433 04402 4598
C 11-4261
Calicott, Maria
History of Spain

Digitized by Google




Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

A

HISTORY OF SPAIN.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:

PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

Digitized by Google

A

HISTORY OF SPAIN.

BY

LADY CALLCOTT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

MDCCCXL.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

PREFACE.

THE following little work was written to supply the want of a popular History of Spain, such as might be put into the hands of young persons.

It was at first intended to model it after Mrs. Markham's excellent little History of England; but some objections presented themselves of sufficient weight in the author's estimation to induce her to change that plan for another which has been adopted.

The principal authorities consulted for that part of the history which precedes the union of the crowns of Castile and Arragon are Mariana's History of Spain, and Conde's curious translations and compilations from the Arabic historians; but the several chronicles of the kings, as well as the Coronica de los Moros and Cardonne, with various others, have been consulted.

It would not be difficult to multiply the names of books referred to; but these were the most used for the period in question.

Digitized by Google

After that time, Robertson, Watson, and Coxe have been the guides chiefly followed; yet Schiller's fragment of the War in Flanders, Strada, Geddes's admirable tracts, the Memoirs of San Phelipe, and, above all, for all periods, the *Art de Verifier les Dates*, have been made use of as unquestionable authorities.

For the notices of the progress of literature, a little book of no recent date, "Letters on the Origin of Spanish Poetry," has been followed implicitly. The preface to Sanchez' collection of ancient Spanish poems has been freely used.

Mr. Southey's Cid, the Civil Wars of Grenada, various collections of romances, the preface to Florian's Gonsalve de Cordone, have furnished much additional information on manners. The state of agriculture in Moorish Spain is taken from the Arab book of agriculture, of which an account will be found at the end of one of the chapters.

The little that is said on the progress of the fine arts is on the authority of Bermudez, whose *Dictionario Historico de los mas ilustres professores de los Bellos Artes en España* is more full and exact than any other work on the subject.

But it is scarcely necessary to say more. The nature of a book of history, however short, abso-

Digitized by Google

lutely requires diligent search and reading; and as Spanish books are not always easy to procure, the author was indebted for very many to the liberal kindness of several friends whose libraries were open to her.

The last chapter is nothing more than a chronological table of events from 1788 to 1823. To have attempted even the shortest history of that period within the limits prescribed for this little work would have been impossible; yet to have omitted it entirely would have left the history of Spain very incomplete.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

CONTENTS

OF THE

FIRST VOLUME.

		Page
Chap. I.		1
II.	From the establishment of the Goths in Spain to the overthrow of their kingdom, in the battle of the Guadalete .	33
III.	From the battle of the Guadalete to the establishment of the caliphs of the west at Cordova	81
IV.	From the reign of Abdulrahman I. to the accession of Abdulrahman II. .	122
V.	From the accession of Abdulrahman II. to that of Abdulrahman III. . .	155
VI.	From the accession of Abdulrahman III. to his death . . .	194
VII.	From the death of Abdulrahman III. to the extinction of the Omeiad family .	243
VIII.	From the death of Sancho III., king of Navarre, to that of Alonzo VI., surnamed the Brave, king of Castile and Leon	273
IX.	From the death of Don Alonzo VI. to that of the emperor Don Alonzo VII.	320

Digitized by Google

Page

Chap. X. From the death of Alonzo VII. to the death of Alonzo VIII., surnamed the Noble 355

XI. From the accession of Henry I. to the death of St. Ferdinand . . 390

XII. From the accession of Alonzo X., surnamed the Wise, or the Learned, to the death of Ferdinand IV. . . . 430

Digitized by Google

EXPLANATION OF THE CUTS.

CHAP. I. Medal from Addison. This represents Spain as allegorically figured on Roman coins. It is copied from Addison's Dialogue on Medals.

Coins of Cadiz and Carthagena. These are antique, and were copied from a Spanish work on the more rare coins of Spain.

Roman trophy. This is part of an antique bas-relief dug up at Merida.

II. Roman bas-relief, found also at Merida.

Ancient Carmelite. This order was established at a very early period at Zaragoza, according to the authors of the history of the religious orders.

Jewish and Arab coins, from the rare coins of Spain.

III. Galley. These were the galleys used from very early times in the Mediterranean.

Helmets, arms, &c. These are copied from an illuminated manuscript, representing Arab subjects.

Moor on foot, from the same manuscript.

IV. Mosque at Cordova, from a Spanish print.

Moorish capitals, Moorish architecture, also from Spanish prints.

V. Tower of Segovia. This fine Moorish tower is taken from a Spanish print.

The Arab capitals, and

The gate of the mosque of Cordova, are also from Spanish prints.

VI. Lady and harp, from an illuminated manuscript.

Arab baths at Gerona, from a Spanish print.

Donna Elvira, from Florez' queens of Spain.

Digitized by Google

CHAP. VII. Moorish warrior on horseback, from an illuminated manuscript.

Moorish character, from a Spanish print.

Moorish prince and princess in pavilion, from an illuminated manuscript.

VIII. Two Spanish Roman coins, from the rare coins of Spain.

Biscayan and Gallician costume, from Titian's book of wood cuts of the dresses of his time.

Arms of Seville, from the wood cuts of Maximilian's arch.

IX. Costume of Navarre.

Woman and child on a mule, from an old Spanish print of the country near Grenada, by Mr. Stothard.

Spanish ox-cart, from a print.

X. Eleanor of England, queen of Castile, from Florez.

Cross of bishop Roderic, from one of the Castilian chronicles.

Two Roman coins, from the rare coins of Spain.

XI. Elevation of San Fernando, or St. Ferdinand. The ancient mode of acknowledging the kings of Spain, by raising them on a shield on the shoulders of the grandees, while the people saluted them.

Coins of Arragon, called *Jaquese coins*, from a work on the subject, with curious plates.

Tomb of the kings of Arragon, from a Spanish print.

XII. Groupe from an old Spanish print, selected by Mr. Stothard.

Women on a mule, from a Spanish print.

Fountain of lions in the lion court of the Alhambra.

Digitized by Google

HISTORY OF SPAIN.

CHAPTER I.



Emblem of Spain, from a Roman medal.

THE Spanish Peninsula, called by the ancients Iberia and Hispania, and containing the two very unequal kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, has always preserved the same limits. It is bounded on the west by the Atlantic Ocean; on the south and east by the Mediterranean Sea; and to the north the Pyrenean mountains separate it from France.

Digitized by Google

Watered by many fine rivers, the soil of Spain produces corn and fruit in abundance. Its cattle and sheep are of excellent quality, and it abounds in mines. Gold and silver, iron, copper, lead, and cinnabar, are dug from its mountains; fine rock salt, as clear as crystal, and many of the precious stones, are found there. These riches very soon attracted the attention of the Phœnicians, whose ships were the earliest of which mention is made in history to venture on long voyages for the purposes of commerce. That enterprising people founded several cities on the coast, particularly Gades, now Cadiz, Medina Sidonia, which they named after Sidon, and Malaga.

The poets, whose fables have generally truth for their foundation, talk of a monstrous king of Spain, with three bodies, named Gerion, a great tyrant, who was slain by Hercules. Now, in reality, the word Gerion means *stranger*, and there were three strangers, who, invading Spain, tyrannized over the people, and were probably pirates who robbed the ships trading to the coast. These tyrants were killed by Hercules, who thereby opened the straits of Gibraltar for the vessels of the merchants; and hence he is feigned to have dug a way for the waters themselves to pass between Calpe, now Gibraltar, and Abyla, on the opposite shore of Africa.

These events took place a little before the war of Troy. After that time, some of the Greeks

Digitized by Google

returning from that expedition, not being well received in their own country, sailed to other lands and formed colonies there. Some settled in Spain, where several towns on the eastern shore were founded by them, and by the people of the islands of the Levant; such as Roses by the people of Rhodes, and Saguntum by those of Zante.

Meanwhile the interior of the country was inhabited by various tribes of barbarians, very much resembling the Celts of Gaul and Britain, speaking a dialect of the same language, and living in caves, or in huts made of the bark of the cork tree. Each of these tribes had its separate chief, and it is probable that, in case of any great danger, they all united under one common leader. The accounts we have of them are, however, very unsatisfactory. We learn that Milico, one of their kings, taught them how to collect the honey with which their woods abounded; and that Gorgaris, another of their chiefs, with his son Abides, first induced them to assemble in towns for their defence against wild beasts, and probably, also, against invaders from foreign countries.

The most remarkable among their kings, and he who appears to have conferred the greatest benefits on the people, was Argantonio: he was probably a foreigner; for he taught the Spaniards the use of alphabetical characters, an invention ascribed to the Phœnicians, who, if not the inventers of letters,

Digitized by Google

taught their use to the various nations with whom they had intercourse.

Upwards of twenty towns are mentioned as having been built by the Phœnicians, and nearly as many by the Greeks, when the Carthaginians, sending a fleet commanded by Maharbal under pretence of assisting the native tribes to drive out their foreign oppressors, conquered the greater part of Spain, and took it to themselves. The mountainous districts of Biscay and Asturias, however, were never reduced, and the hardy inhabitants were always on the watch for occasions to fall on their enemies.

Before the Carthaginians had quite possessed themselves of Spain, the war between them and the Romans, called the first Punic war, broke out, and it was so unfavourable to them, that they were obliged to leave the country, almost to itself, for a time; and in the meanwhile, the Romans becoming acquainted with Spain, entered into alliance with some of the towns, especially Saguntum and Ampurias, and promised to protect them from the future attacks of the Carthaginians.

As soon as Carthage was sufficiently recovered from the war, the Carthaginian senate sent an army, under Hamilcar Barca, to recover what had been lost in Spain. He landed near Cadiz, and not only took possession of those provinces that had before acknowledged the authority of Carthage, but extended his conquests to the frontiers of Lusitania

Digitized by Google

(now called Portugal), where, in the ninth year of his command, he was wounded in battle by one of the natives, and, falling from his horse, was drowned in the Guadiana.

The Spanish chief of most renown at that time was Orison; he fought very valiantly in defence of his country, but Asdrubal, the son-in-law of Hamilcar, overcame him, and took twelve towns within a very short time. After the fall of Orison, little opposition was made in the south and west of Spain to Asdrubal, whose very amiable character attracted the love of the people he conquered. But the Greek colonies on the east coast became alarmed, expecting he would next attack them, and two of the principal cities, Ampurita and Saguntum, sent deputies to their great ally, Rome, to procure the interference of the Roman senate in their favour. An ambassador was accordingly despatched to Carthage, to request that the Carthaginian senate would order their general to respect the allies of the Romans, but without effect; for though Asdrubal was peaceably disposed, his death left his successor at liberty to follow his less pacific inclinations. Asdrubal was murdered by a slave whose lord he had put to death, and whose attachment to his master a native Spaniard, induced him to revenge, though he could not prevent, his fate.

Hannibal was the general who succeeded Asdrubal, his brother-in-law. The hatred of that young chief for the Roman name prompted him, careless

Digitized by Google

of the consequences, to attack Saguntum instantly. Born in one of the islands of Spain, he had accompanied his father, Hamilcar, in his campaigns, and at nine years old had been made to swear on the altars of his gods eternal enmity to Rome.

Here was now an opportunity of attacking an ally of the people he detested, although the peace existing between Rome and Carthage prevented his carrying his arms into Italy. Hannibal had defeated several of the Spanish chiefs who had risen against the Carthaginians on the death of Asdrubal. He overran the country now called New Castile, seized the principal towns, and, being master of the mines as well as of the corn countries, he felt sure of supplies, and marched towards Saguntum with a hundred and fifty thousand men. The people of that town once more applied to Rome for assistance, but instead of despatching an army, the senate only sent a messenger to remonstrate with Hannibal. This step was unavailing; he refused to lay down his arms, and proceeded to invest the city. Its inhabitants defended it long and bravely, till, at length, worn out by famine, and having no hope of mercy from the well-known cruelty of Hannibal, they erected an enormous funeral pile, where they placed all their richest goods, and embracing their wives and children, sallied out against the Carthaginians, and died by the hands of their enemies; while the women, as soon as they saw, from the walls, the fate of their husbands, lighted the pile,

Digitized by Google

and ascending it with their children, perished after eight months' siege by a voluntary death.

After this event the second Punic war began; and Hannibal, marching into Italy with a hundred thousand men, left his brother, a younger Asdrubal, to command in Spain.

The Romans, thinking to arrest the progress of Hannibal, sent an army into the Peninsula under the command of the proconsul Publius Cornelius Scipio and his brother Cneius Scipio, who, sailing along the coast of Catalonia and landing their legions at Ampurias, proceeded to examine the towns in the neighbourhood; and by promising liberty to all who had been oppressed by the Carthaginians, induced a number of the Spaniards to join them, and by their assistance gained an important victory over Hanno, the Carthaginian general commanding in that part of the country.

The seat of the African government in Spain was at Carthagena, a colony founded by the elder Asdrubal. The young Asdrubal was then within that city; but as soon as he heard of the defeat of Hanno, he set out with 11,000 men, whom he had with him, passed the Ebro, and found the sailors and marine forces of Scipio's fleet scattered about the neighbourhood of Tarragona, exulting in fancied security at their late victory. He surprised them and cut the greater number to pieces, driving the rest to their ships and vessels for refuge.

This success was, however, but temporary; for

Digitized by Google

shortly afterwards the Carthaginian fleet, under Himilco, was surprised by the Roman general at the mouth of the Ebro, and, although protected on the land side by the army of Asdrubal, it was entirely destroyed, after an obstinate resistance.

Scipio followed up this victory by another, the consequence of which was the capture of Honosca, a considerable town of the Spaniards, which stood on the scite of the modern Valencia. But his army being too weak to attempt the siege of Carthagena, he contented himself with laying waste the fields and burning the harvests up to its gates; and then seizing Loguntica, the arsenal, burnt all the stores and muniments which he could not carry away.

He next proceeded to the island of Ibiza (Yvica), with the intention of seizing its capital, Eresa, a flourishing colony of Carthage, which had existed, it is said, no less than five centuries; but failing in taking it by surprise, and not having a sufficient army to undertake a long siege, he wasted the country round, and, after gathering a very considerable booty, retired to Tarragona, where he founded a Roman colony.

The fame of his exploits soon spread over Spain, and no less than a hundred and twenty towns and villages, eager to free themselves from the dominion of the Carthaginians, sent in their submission to the Roman general. All the cities of Hispania Citerior, or Spain on that side of the Ebro next to Gaul, were of the number, some few of those of

Digitized by Google

Hispania Ulterior, or Spain beyond the Ebro, and one or two at the very extremity of the country. Some of the native tribes, however, under their princes Mandonio and Andobal, remonstrated against submission to any stranger; but their opposition was soon overruled, and Cneius Scipio, availing himself of the bravery of the Celtiberians, who inhabited great part of Arragon and Old Castile, marched with them towards Carthagena, carrying every thing before him.

Meantime Publius Cornelius Scipio, now consul, joined his brother with a strong reinforcement from Italy; and as Saguntum, which had been rebuilt by Hannibal, contained the hostages delivered by the native tribes to the Carthaginians, the Scipios thought it of primary importance to secure that city, and therefore marched immediately upon it, leaving the Celtiberians to prosecute the siege of Carthagena.

They had hardly crossed the Ebro on their way, when they were met by a noble Spaniard of Saguntum, named Abelox, who promised to deliver the hostages up to them, on condition that they should be permitted immediately to go to their homes. The terms were readily agreed to. Abelox then returned to the city; and going to Bostar, the governor, represented to him that the detention of the hostages within the walls was a source of danger and discontent, and that if he wished to attach the Spanish cities in earnest to

Digitized by Google

the Carthaginians, he might do it most effectually by liberating the hostages, who were persons of the greatest families; whereas, if he detained them, they would probably co-operate with the Romans as soon as they should besiege the city. To avert these evils he himself offered to take charge of the hostages, and restore them to their homes. Bostar immediately acceded to this proposal, and Abelox accordingly set out, accompanied by the hostages; but he had first given notice to the Roman generals of the road he should take, and they accordingly placed an ambuscade and surprised them at a short distance from the city. They were immediately conveyed to the camp, where they were treated with distinction, and every effort was used to give them a favourable impression of the Romans, and to induce a belief that they had no object in view but to deliver Spain from the tyranny of Carthage. The hostages were then dismissed under the care of Abelox, who conducted them to their native towns so deeply impressed in favour of the Romans as to induce their countrymen to render them that assistance which so greatly contributed in the sequel to the success of their arms. Asdrubal immediately took the alarm, and before his enemies were quite prepared to act in concert, he attacked the native tribes in person, and soon reduced them to their former state of sullen obedience. But the affairs of Hannibal in Italy now required his brother's assistance, and Asdrubal accordingly set out

Digitized by Google

to force a passage across the Pyrenees at the head of his whole army. But the Scipios met him near Ibera [now Tortosa], on the Ebro, and there defeated him in a pitched battle, killing 25,000 men and making 10,000 prisoners.

The senate at Carthage were no sooner apprised of this misfortune than they despatched an army under Mago to reinforce their troops in Spain; but they were equally disastrous in a second battle, and success seemed every where to attend the Roman arms. However, the Carthaginians, in nowise discouraged, despatched fresh soldiers to supply the place of those who had fallen, and amongst them a great body of Numidians, under their young king Massinissa, who, in an obstinate battle five days' journey from Tarragona, defeated the Roman army, and slew both Scipios.

This disaster was followed by disgrace and misfortune to the Romans under three successive generals, till at length the senate resolved on sending a competent commander to retrieve the honour of the Roman name. The younger Publius Cornelius Scipio, anxious to revenge his father's death, offered his services, and was accordingly sent into Spain at the head of a formidable army.

His first object was Carthagena, for which he marched directly at the head of 25,000 men. After crossing the Ebro he continued to follow the sea shore, accompanied by his fleet, and attacked the town at once by sea and land. But the forti-

Digitized by Google

fications resisted all his efforts, though defended only by a thousand soldiers and an equal number of armed citizens. A second attempt was equally unsuccessful; but on the third, having observed that where the ramparts were lowest and weakest the sea at low water left a dry passage to the foot of the wall, he ventured to prophesy to the soldiers that at a particular hour the gods would cause the water to recede, and that they might then take the hitherto impregnable city.

Accordingly, at the appointed time, five hundred picked men having prepared their scaling ladders, followed the unusual, and, as it appeared to them, miraculous path, they gained the wall, mounted with success, and obtained possession of the city. The booty was immense. Gold, and purple and rich furniture, and magnificent apparel, were in such profusion as to astonish the conquerors. But the vanquished were more surprised at the clemency of the victor. Instead of putting the defenders of the city to the sword, as was the practice of that barbarous age, he spared their lives, set all the inhabitants at liberty, and calling for such Spanish hostages as were in the place, he spoke to them with benignity, and dismissed them to their homes with dispositions highly favourable to the Romans.

One of the most justly celebrated of Scipio's actions during the war, however, was the restoring a beautiful Spanish captive to her lover, the young

Digitized by Google

Celtiberian Allutius, and giving her as a dowry the sum that her parents had brought as a ransom for her. The wife of the Spanish general Mandonio, and the daughters of his brother Andobal, were treated with equal generosity.

The private virtues of the young general were of great benefit to his country. The brave Mandonio and Andobal immediately joined the Romans with all their followers. Allutius going to his own country, and making known the generosity of Scipio, soon returned to join his standard with 1400 chosen horsemen, and accompanied him in pursuit of Asdrubal, who with his Carthaginians was near Becula, a town of Andalusia. There a furious battle was fought, in which Asdrubal was completely worsted. After the victory, particular attention was paid in the distribution of the booty, to gratify the Spanish allies; and as to the prisoners, while the Africans were sold by public auction for slaves, the Spaniards were set free without the smallest ransom.

It happened that among those destined for sale, a young Numidian of superior air and manner was observed by the quæstor: on questioning him, it appeared that he was nephew to Massinissa, and grandson to king Gala, in whose court he had been brought up. His grandfather had forbidden him, on account of his early youth, to enter the Carthaginian army; but unable to resist his military ardour, he had seized a horse and fled secretly from

Digitized by Google

court to join the troops. Scipio, pleased with the spirit of the boy, and happy to have occasion to confer a personal favour on Massinissa, immediately sent the youth to his uncle's camp, loaded with presents, and attended by an honourable escort.

Meantime Asdrubal, notwithstanding his defeat at Becula, persisted in his intention of joining Hannibal in Italy, and having collected a considerable body of recruits, he left Spain ere Scipio could prevent him, and crossing the Pyrenees and the Alps, reinforced his brother with 150,000 men, leaving Hanno to command in his stead; but that general was shortly afterwards surprised and taken prisoner near Segovia by Marcus Silanus, Scipio's lieutenant, and the Roman arms were successful in all parts of the Peninsula.

The conquest of Spain being now considered as complete, Scipio was recalled to Rome. His successors were not equally sensible with himself of the importance of ruling a brave and generous people by kind and humane means, and the Spaniards began too late to discover that they had only changed masters in throwing off the Carthaginian yoke; and while they groaned under the military despotism of the Romans, might reflect with some regret on the loss of those mutual advantages which the government of the commercial people of Africa brought with it.

Not long after the departure of Scipio, the two Spanish chiefs Mandonio and Andobal, provoked

Digitized by Google

by the ill usage of the Roman governors, raised the standard of independence, and assembling an army of 34,000 men, marched towards Valencia. There they were met by the Romans and totally defeated; Andobal was slain, and the vanquished Spaniards purchased an inglorious peace by sending the head of Mandonio to the Roman general.

From this time Spain was looked upon as a province of Rome, and was divided into two governments, Hispania Citerior and Ulterior; ten commissioners administered the affairs of the province under the proconsuls, and the usual policy of founding colonies in ancient towns, or building new cities, so as to distribute the Roman soldiers over the face of the country, was practised. Still, however, the mountains afforded refuge to multitudes of the natives, who disdained to submit to foreign dominion, and a series of petty insurrections kept the Roman generals constantly on the alert.

The treacherous massacre of 25,000 Spaniards by the proprætor Lucullus at Panca, after they had capitulated, at length raised up a daring and virtuous defender of his country. Viriatus was a shepherd of the mountains on the frontiers of Lusitania. He was present at the council held by the chiefs of his tribe after the massacre. He rose, and called on them not to deliberate but revenge, and leading them with ten thousand followers to the spot under the walls of Panca, where their murdered countrymen lay unburied, he pointed

Digitized by Google

out to one a son, to another a parent slain, and taking up from among them the mangled remains of his own youngest daughter, a girl of tender age, swore before his gods a dreadful oath of hatred and revenge.—A fearful circumstance was added. A prisoner, a Roman knight, was sacrificed, and each Lusitanian dipping his hand in the blood, repeated the oath of the chief.

For fourteen years Viriatus led the Lusitanian and Spanish tribes successfully against the Roman armies. More than one officer of pretorian rank was defeated and slain in the contest, trophies composed of the eagles and the armour of the Romans were to be seen on the mountain tops, and at length the proconsul Servilianus, reduced to the utmost extremity, accepted terms, by which it was agreed, that the Romans and Lusitanians should respect the actual boundaries between them, and should make a strict alliance of peace and war: the conditions were ratified by the senate at Rome.

Quintus Servilius Cæpio, however, the successor of Servilianus, conceiving such a treaty to be derogatory to the dignity of Rome, took upon himself to break it, and invaded the Lusitanian territory; whereupon Viriatus sent to remonstrate with him. Cæpio made use of the opportunity afforded by the arrival of the messengers, who were some of Viriatus' principal officers, in his camp, to persuade them to embrace the Roman interest, and by promises and bribes induced them to betray Viriatus,

Digitized by Google

whom they murdered on their return to the Lusitanian head-quarters. The fury of the soldiers at this treacherous act was ungovernable; but having no leader of sufficient weight among them to direct their operations, they were soon disarmed, and many of them accepted of settlements in the southern parts of Spain, where they became cultivators, and thus Hispania Ulterior was finally subdued.

But some of the Lusitanian army disdained to accept of such settlements, and took refuge in Numantia, a city not far from the scite of the modern Soria. That place had been in alliance with Rome, but during the Celtiberian and Lusitanian wars, its citizens had refused to shut their gates on their fugitive countrymen, for which reason Quintus Fulvius Nobilior invested it with a strong army: the Numantines defended themselves heroically, and neither he nor any of the succeeding Roman generals could make any impression on them, until Pompeius Rufus having appeared before Numantia with thirty thousand men, the citizens, who were only eight thousand in number, accepted the honourable terms which that general offered them.

To save the pride of Rome, however, the Numantines consented that an ostensible treaty, which might be published at Rome, should be made, while the real terms, advantageous to the city, and which were to be acted upon, should be kep secret. But the Spaniards had no sooner laid down their arms than Rufus refused to acknowledge the

Digitized by Google

second treaty, and the consequence of his perfidious conduct was the renewal of the war with redoubled fury.

The consul Popilius next took the command against Numantia; but he was so unfortunate in every attack, that the superstitious Romans began to imagine that the city was guarded by a peculiar fate, and to look upon it as the scourge of Rome. Pretended evil omens three times alarmed the consul, Caius Hostilius Mancinus, as he was embarking to take the command in Spain, and indeed he was most unfortunate. Baffled in every attempt to take the city, he was forced to make an ignominious peace, and the Roman senate, to punish his cowardice or weakness, ordered him to be stripped naked, and driven to the gates of Numantia; there to suffer whatever the inhabitants might choose to inflict. But they, disdaining so ignoble a foe, left him there; and the wretched general passed a whole day between his own camp and the city of the enemy, an object of derision to both, until the next day, when he was permitted to return to the tents.

An anecdote is related illustrative of the spirit of the Numantians while Mancinus had the command. It was the season when it was customary for marriages to take place in Numantia. A beautiful girl had been wooed by two young warriors of equal merit, and her father being called upon to choose his son-in-law, pronounced in favour of him who

Digitized by Google

should bring from the enemy's camp the right hand of a Roman. The lovers instantly set out for the camp, but, with surprise, they found it deserted. The consul had fled: the young men immediately gave notice to the citizens, who instantly sallied out in pursuit of them; and though they were but four thousand in number, and the Roman army reckoned forty thousand men, they fell upon the rear-guard with such fury, that they left twenty thousand dead on the field, and drove the rest into a defile, whence they had no means of escape but by a shameful capitulation.

These events were highly mortifying to the Romans. Numantia was never named in the senate but as a terror to the empire; and now, like Carthage, it was devoted, and a vast army, under Scipio Æmilianus, was sent against it.

He soon appeared before it with sixty thousand men, the garrison consisting only of eight thousand.

He began by laying waste the whole country around, and then intercepted the provisions from a distance by vigilant guards on all the roads and passes. In vain did the Numantines sally out, in hopes of provoking him to battle; his caution was not to be overcome, and he patiently waited till famine had done its work within the walls, hoping that the people would yield. But this they disdained, and either slew one another in a kind of desperate duel, or, making funeral piles of their

Digitized by Google

own houses, perished there with their wives and children, rather than be led captives to Rome.

The fall of Numantia decided the fate of Spain. From that time the provinces groaned under the oppressive government of successive proconsuls, whose avarice soon drained them of all their riches, and whose tyrannical government repressed every manly and generous feeling. Yet forty years of public tranquillity were calculated in some degree to repair the evils occasioned by the long struggle for independence; and when Sertorius took refuge in Spain during the civil wars of Rome, the province had recovered much of its ancient fertility, and he found there resources which enabled him to make head for a long period against the best generals of Rome.

Born of a respectable family at Nursia, in the Sabine territory, Sertorius was brought up with the greatest care by his mother Rhea, and throughout all his adventurous life he retained for her the most tender affection. He had been designed for the bar, and had considerable talents for that profession; but his superior military abilities induced him to join the army, and in his first campaigns in Gaul and Spain, he gave an earnest of that courage and promptitude in resource which distinguished him as a general in after life.

In the civil wars he took part against Sylla, though his dislike of the cruelty of Marius often made him oppose that commander; and indeed he

Digitized by Google

attached himself more to Cinna than any of the other leaders at that time, on account of his disinterested and humane character.

After the death of Marius and the assassination of Cinna, finding that his efforts to produce unanimity in the party opposed to Sylla were unavailing, he retired to Spain, hoping that he might there form a government which should prove an asylum for such as were driven from Italy by the atrocious tyranny of the dictator.

On his arrival in the Peninsula he found the country very populous, and abounding in youth fit for war; but the people, oppressed by the rapacity of former rulers, were indisposed towards any Roman governor whatever.

To remove their prejudices he mixed freely with the better sort of natives, paying them great attention. He lowered the taxes that chiefly oppressed the poor, and he excused them from providing quarters for the soldiers, whom he caused to encamp without the walls of their towns. He incorporated the sons of the Romans who had settled in Spain with his troops, and he built so many ships, and constructed so many warlike machines, that he kept the cities in awe at the same time that he used every art of conciliation to attach the inhabitants of the country to him.

As soon as Sylla had made himself absolute master in Rome, a powerful army was sent to Spain under Caius Annius; and the officer deputed

Digitized by Google

by Sertorius to guard the passes of the Pyrenees having been treacherously assassinated, Annius entered the country, and the troops of Sertorius not being yet in a condition to give him battle, that general retired first to Carthagena and afterwards to Africa. There he recruited his army, and having engaged the commanders of some Cilician vessels, then employed in the service of one of the African kings, to assist him, he returned to the European coast, and effected a landing in Pithyusa (now Iviza). Shortly afterwards he ventured with his small light squadron to attack the powerful fleet of Annius; but a violent storm separated them, and Sertorius narrowly escaped shipwreck. His vessels were driven through the straits of Gades (now Gibraltar) to the mouth of the river Betis (Guadalquiver), where he met with some mariners just returned from the Fortunate Islands (now the Canaries), and was so charmed with their description of the delights of the climate and beauty of the country, that he formed a project of retiring thither and spending the remainder of his life in peace. But his Cilician allies prevented his design. They were engaged to assist in restoring the rightful heir of Mauritania to his throne, and persuaded Sertorius to accompany them, and by the African war to exercise his soldiers and fit them for another campaign in Spain. Sylla had taken part against the young prince whom Sertorius supported, and had sent a considerable body

Digitized by Google

of troops into Africa to oppose his claims to the crown; but the soldiers, as soon as they saw Sertorius, went over to him at once, and as he had received a pressing invitation from the Lusitanians and other Spanish nations to put himself at their head, he once more sailed for Spain, where, being invested with full authority to act as general, he levied forces sufficient to overawe or conquer the timid or refractory provinces, and his character for clemency as well as firmness drew over many others to his side. He even condescended to practise on the superstition of the people, in order to give himself importance, and teach them to believe that he was a peculiar favourite of the gods.

One Spanus, a countryman, having found a milk-white hind, brought it to Sertorius, whose camp was near the place, and the little animal soon became so fond of her master that she would come when she was called, caress and follow him through the camp, and when near him seemed regardless of the confusion and danger of such a place. By degrees Sertorius insinuated that there was something preternatural in the creature; that she was a gift from Diana, and discovered to him the secrets of fate: so when his spies brought him any secret intelligence, he would conceal it for a time, and then bring out the hind crowned with flowers, if the intelligence was favourable, and declare that she had conveyed it to him.

But Sertorius was of a character to gain the

Digitized by Google

esteem as well as the love of the Spaniards. Sober and active in his own habits, he was indulgent and careful for them. On one occasion, when Metellus had nearly cut off all the springs and wells from a town of the Langobritæ, he got two thousand skins filled with water, and having promised a considerable reward for the delivery of every skin, a sufficient number of Spaniards and Moors offered their services, and choosing the strongest and swiftest, he despatched them over the mountains with the water, ordering them, on delivering it, to bring away with them all the infirm and useless persons. The townsmen, by these precautions, had sufficient water to hold out until Metellus was obliged to retire from it with disgrace. This success increased the devotion of the Spaniards to their general; but they were still more pleased at his arming and disciplining them in the Roman manner, and forming them into regular troops. He furnished them with abundant gold and silver to gild their helmets and enrich their shields, and taught them to wear embroidered vests and rich coats.

He collected from the various nations the children of the nobility into the great city of Osca, and gave them masters in the Greek and Roman literature. He took the whole expense on himself, and often attended the schools in person to examine the progress of the children, distributing rewards to the most meritorious; and particularly gratified the

Digitized by Google

Spaniards by giving among those the golden ornament for the neck called bulla, which was peculiar to the Roman nobles.

It was the custom in Spain for the band of attendants who fought near their general's person to die with him if he fell, and this was called a *libation*. Now whereas other generals had but a small number of these devoted followers, Sertorius had numerous volunteers, who, upon occasion, had saved his life at the risk of their own.

In short, he was so beloved in Spain that there was every hope that his good laws and wise regulations might have made it a great and happy country. He had instituted a senate, and in all things tried to model the government according to the best principles of the Roman polity.

By these means he had obtained so absolute a power over the Lusitanians and the other Spanish tribes, that with less than eight thousand soldiers of all nations he was able to make head against four Roman generals, who had a hundred and twenty thousand horse, six thousand foot, and two thousand archers and slingers, besides cities without number at their command.

His plans were so wisely laid and ably conducted that he beat every body of troops opposed to him, and obliged even Metellus, one of the greatest of the Romans, to apply to Rome for assistance. Pompey the Great was consequently sent into Spain; but he met with no better success than Metellus, until

Digitized by Google

the treachery of Sertorius's lieutenant, Perpenna, by the murder of his general, laid the country once more at the mercy of the Roman senate.

Perpenna was one of those Romans who had taken refuge with Sertorius, and who, seeing how he was honoured and beloved, conceived such a jealousy against him that he resolved to destroy him, in hopes of succeeding to the command. One day he pretended to have received letters containing accounts of a great advantage gained over the enemy, and invited Sertorius, with the other chiefs, to supper, in order to celebrate the supposed victory. Sertorius, though little addicted to the pleasures of the table, went thither at the appointed time, when, after some time passed in eating, Perpenna gave the signal, and Sertorius was despatched with the daggers of the guests.

Most of the Spaniards instantly abandoned the camp, and the conquest of their country immediately followed. Pompey's arms were every where victorious; he destroyed the towns of Osnia and Calahorra, the last which adhered to the Sertorian cause; and the reduction of the Lusitanians and Gallicians shortly afterwards by Julius Cæsar, brought the whole country into a state of tranquil servitude.

When the war between Pompey and Cæsar broke out, Pompey, who governed Spain by his lieutenants Afranius, Varro, and Petreius, endeavoured to maintain himself there; but Cæsar hav-

Digitized by Google

ing brought over the inhabitants of Catalonia and Arragon to his side, Pompey's army was beaten between Lerida and Mequinenza, and the fugitives taking refuge in Munda (now Malaga), defended that town to the last extremity.

The sons of Pompey had taken refuge among the Cantabrians: being joined by the Asturians and Gallicians, they made one more effort for their own freedom and that of Spain; but the fortune of Cæsar prevailed, and from that time Spain, after a struggle of upwards of two hundred years, became a tranquil and a prosperous dependancy of Rome.



Coins of Cadix and Carthagena.

Digitized by Google

We have now taken a rapid view of the history of Spain during the first period of its existence, and it may be useful to pause before we go on to the next, to remark a few things which may assist us to form a clearer idea of the country at that time. The Romans are the people through whose historians our knowledge of Spain in early ages is derived; but as they were not very curious in obtaining information about nations or events not immediately connected with themselves, our acquaintance with Spain before the time of Hannibal, or about 217 years before the birth of our Saviour, is very imperfect.

We learn, however, that there were a great many different tribes living in Spain before even the Phenicians found their way thither, and that they much resembled the people of Britain and Gaul. They lived in caves, or in huts built of the bark of the cork-tree, and subsisted chiefly on chesnuts, sweet acorns, and such other fruits as grew spontaneously. They were clothed in skins or in woollen cloths, which they knew how to dye with the juice of plants. They had acquired the art of working metals. When the Phenicians came, they learnt how to dig mines and refine ore. It is probable also that the same people taught them to sow corn and to make bread; to weave finer cloth, and to dye it with more beautiful colours. They also began to build towns and to plant orchards. The vine was very soon introduced, and many of

Digitized by Google

the inhabitants of the coast became seamen. All the Spaniards, but especially those of the islands Iviza, Mallorca, and Menorca, were expert in the use of missile weapons, and were particularly dexterous slingers; but they had little or no defensive armour.

The Carthaginians, who succeeded the Phenicians, added to the natural riches of Spain by the introduction of the olive; and improved its agriculture by teaching the use of artificial grasses, especially of lucerne, which in that hot climate supplies a wholesome and juicy food for cattle when the ordinary herbage is burned up. Two annual crops of barley rewarded the pains of the Spanish husbandman; and though the wars carried on by the Romans within the Peninsula for a time checked its prosperity, yet after the final reduction of Pompey's party, four centuries of peace encouraged the labourer, the artisan, and the merchant, and Spain was, on the invasion of the Goths, one of the most flourishing of the Roman provinces.

The language used in Spain seems to have been a dialect of the Celtic, not unlike that spoken in Biscay at present. The Phenician, probably akin to the Syriac, succeeded it on the sea coasts: the Punic tongue, not very different from the Phenician, was pretty generally spread over the country at the period of the Roman invasion; but by the time of Cæsar, the Latin had nearly superseded it, and now forms the basis of the modern Spanish.

Digitized by Google

On the accession of Augustus to the empire, Spain was divided into three governments:—Lusitania, comprehending nearly the kingdom of Portugal; Betica, which contained Grenada and Andalusia; and Tarragona, which was equal to the rest of Spain. In a later reign it was still farther subdivided, in order to provide for a greater number of officers, to whom the governments were given.

As to the religion of the people of Spain, it may be conjectured that, like the other Celts, they were under the guidance of the Druids, at least till the time of the Phenicians. The Romans found them addicted to the Carthaginian superstitions, and guilty of human sacrifice. They introduced the milder gods of Italy, who gradually gave way before the doctrines of christianity, which were preached in Spain in the first century, it is said, even in the time of the Apostles.

St. Denis, called the Areopagite, the apostle of France, sent one of his disciples, Eugenius, into Spain to convert the people; and his success was such, that he founded a church in Toledo, of which he was the first bishop. He suffered martyrdom on his return to France, and his body was many centuries afterwards sought for and restored to Spain. The Christians appear to have gained ground slowly, but surely, in Spain, where they do not seem to have suffered so much from persecution as in other parts of the empire.

Digitized by Google

The taste for Roman and Grecian letters which Sertorius introduced, rapidly increased in the Peninsula. The numerous Roman colonies which were planted throughout the country fostered and encouraged the cultivation of art and science. The cities were adorned with the painting and sculpture of Greece. In the schools the laws and the history of Greece and Rome were studied: and Cordova could boast among its citizens of poets and philosophers, in Lucan and the Senecas. Italica, near Seville, gave birth to the emperor Trajan, whose partiality for his native country adorned it with public buildings, with aqueducts and bridges, planted new towns, and advanced his countrymen to honours and rank. Hadrian was his fellow citizen; and two other emperors, Maximius and the second Theodosius, were likewise born in Spain. The first triumph that was ever granted to a stranger was enjoyed by Cornelius Balbo, a native of Cadiz, for his victories over the Garamantas; and in every thing the province seemed to enjoy an equality with Italy itself. In the time of the emperor Vespasian there were not less than three hundred and sixty cities in Spain, and the villages and farms were proportionably numerous. We have an excellent account by Columella of the advanced state of Spanish agriculture in the reign of Tiberius; and the mines and fisheries furnished an inexhaustible fund of wealth. Flax had been early introduced from Egypt, and there is reason

Digitized by Google

to think that hemp is indigenous in the country. Besides these, the fibres of the genista, or broom, from very early times, served the Spaniards for cordage; and the wool from their mountains has at all times been celebrated. Honey and wax were procured in great quantities in their woods, besides the supply furnished by the cultivators of bees, for the luxury of the capital.

Such were the advantages enjoyed by Spain: yet it was only a province, governed by proconsuls, whose limited periods of rule rendered them more anxious to amass great fortunes during the period of their authority, than to improve the condition of their subjects. Hence the unstable nature of the government, which rendered the country an easy prey to those strangers whom we shall find invading it in the next chapter.



Roman trophy, from a bas-relief found at Merida.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GOTHS IN SPAIN TO THE OVERTHROW OF THEIR KINGDOM, IN THE BATTLE OF THE GUADELETE.

[From A. D. 409 to A. D. 710.]



From a Roman bas-relief found at Merida.

SPAIN was later than most of the other provinces in partaking of the ruin brought on the Roman empire by the invasion of those various northern nations, generally designated as "the Goths."

After Constantine had removed the seat of government from Rome to Constantinople, the remote-

Digitized by Google

ness of Spain from the capital secured it for a time from partaking in those factions which generally opened the way for a foreign conqueror. But on the division of the empire under the sons of the emperor Theodosius, Spain began to feel its full share of the common evil, and the reign of Honorius, the first emperor of the West, was as disastrous to the Spanish peninsula as to Italy itself.

As long as the militia of the country defended the passes of the Pyrenees the attempts of the barbarians to invade the province were vain; but the usurper Constantine having compelled the national troops to resign their post to his soldiers, the frontier was betrayed, and about ten months before the sack of Rome by the Goths under Alaric, the barbarous Suevi, Vandals, and Alani had entered Spain, and overrun it from the frontiers of Gaul to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Pestilence and famine followed the cruel track of the conquerors; cities and provinces were depopulated; till at length the barbarians, weary of slaughter, began to form settlements in the country they had ruined. Antient Gallicia, or as we now call it, old Castille, was divided between the Suevi and Vandals; the Alani possessing Carthagena and the whole of Lusitania, spread from sea to sea; and the Selingi, another of the Vandal tribes, took possession of Betica.

Meantime the emperor Honorius had entered into an alliance with the Visigothic king Atualph, or

Digitized by Google

Adolphus, the successor of Alaric, who reigned at Thoulouse over a considerable portion of Narbonese Gaul. Among the captives taken by Alaric, at the sacking of Rome, was Placidia, sister to the emperor. She was treated with respect in the Gothic camp, and Adolphus, the brother-in-law of Alaric, solicited and obtained her hand in marriage. After the death of Alaric, Placidia was able to unite her brother and her husband in the bands of peace, and Adolphus undertook to drive the barbarians out of Spain, and to restore that province to the empire. He accordingly crossed the Pyrenees, and surprised Barcelona, but was not long afterwards assassinated in his palace by one of the followers of Sarus, a barbarian leader, whom he had put to death.

Sigeric, the brother of Sarus, seized the government; he cruelly and wantonly insulted Placidia, whom he forced to march on foot before his horse, and he put to death the six children of Adolphus by a former marriage; but the indignant people rose on the seventh day of his reign and killed him, electing the noble Goth, Wallia, as a fit successor to Adolphus.

This prince was of a warlike temper, and at the beginning of his reign was more disposed to make conquests for himself than to fulfil the engagements of Adolphus with Honorius: he marched rapidly from Barcelona to the Atlantic Ocean, and

Digitized by Google

when he reached the promontory of Calpe, he resumed those plans for the conquest of Africa which the death of Alaric had suspended, and embarked for that coast, but a violent storm drove him back into Spain. On landing he found an ambassador from Rome, whose proposals of friendship were backed by a powerful army under the brave general Constantius; and a solemn treaty was concluded, by which Wallia engaged to restore Spain to the empire. Placidia, who had been detained in captivity, was delivered up to Constantius, to whom the emperor had promised her in marriage, and the Romans supplied Wallia with six hundred measures of wheat to distribute among his followers.

A fierce war among the barbarians was now kindled in Spain: it continued with various success for three campaigns. Wallia, however, defeated the Selingi, who had ravaged Betica, slew the king of the Alani, drove the Vandals and Suevi into the mountains, and having reduced Spain to a state of tranquillity, yielded it up to the emperor, and returning to his capital of Thoulouse, died there the following year.

But the oppression of the Roman governors was still more grievous to the people of Spain than the tyranny of the barbarians. Still the authority of Honorius continued to be acknowledged, excepting only in the mountains of Gallicia, where the Vandals and Suevi had fortified their camps, and con-

Digitized by Google

tinued in mutual discord and independence. The Vandals prevailed; and they were besieging the strongholds of their enemies between Leon and Oviedo, when a Roman army under Asterias compelled them to remove the seat of war to the plains of Betica.

Meantime two ambitious soldiers, Jovinus and Maximus, taking advantage of the disordered state of the country, assumed the imperial title in Spain; they were, however, soon defeated by Castenus, the master general of the empire, who was sent from Italy to oppose them, and who, having suppressed their factions, turned his arms against the Vandals. He was less fortunate with them; for, being defeated by an inferior army under Gonderic, the Vandal king, he fled with disgrace, and the enemy made himself master of Seville and Carthagena, and passing over to the islands of Mallorca and Menorca, laid them waste, and then returned to the main land and continued his conquests until his death, which happened shortly afterwards.

The successor of Gonderic was the famous Genseric, who shortly after his accession to the crown of the Vandals was invited into Africa by count Boniface, the Roman governor, and whose ravages, both in Mauritania and Italy, amply revenged the injuries Spain had suffered from its successive African and Roman invaders.

Honorius being dead, his infant nephew Valentinian, the son of Constantius and Placidia, was

Digitized by Google

acknowledged as emperor, under the guardianship of his mother, now for the second time a widow. She was entirely guided by the counsels of count Ætius, a man whose virtues merited the name of the last of the Romans. His influence was regarded with jealousy by Boniface, who in an evil hour called Genseric to his aid. That barbarian collected fifty thousand Vandals and Alani, with their families, and marched to the coast where the passage to Africa was narrowest. The Spaniards joyfully furnished the vessels which were to carry away their formidable oppressors, and Genseric fixed himself in Africa, whence his incursions to Sicily and Italy were more destructive than the invasions of Alaric himself: but, as he never returned to Spain, we will not farther pursue his history.

On the departure of the Vandals, the Selingi became masters of Andalusia *, and the Suevi, under their kings Hermanric and Rechiarius, gradually acquired the dominion over the greater part of Spain; while the Visigoths, the successors of Adolphus, possessed only the province of Catalonia, subordinate to their kingdom in Gaul, where the court of Thoulouse had become famous under the wise and virtuous Theodoric.

The districts of Spain that still acknowledged

* Some writers have supposed that Andalusia derived its name from the Vandals.—Others that the Arab appellation Handalus applied to the whole Peninsula, and, signifying the western land, is the origin of the name of the province.

Digitized by Google

the Roman authority, were harassed by the daily encroachments of the Suevi, and, unable to defend themselves, they applied to Avitus, the reigning emperor, for assistance. Avitus, whose virtues had adorned a private station in Gaul, had been encouraged to assume the empire by Theodoric after the death of Maximus, the successor of Valentinian. The Roman senators submitted with reluctance to their Gallic sovereign, and the only assistance he had the power to render his provinces in Spain, was to engage Theodoric to mediate between them and the Vandal Rechiarius, who had married Theodoric's sister.

A messenger was accordingly despatched from Thoulouse, threatening that if the Vandals did not retire from the Roman territory, Theodoric himself would arm in the cause. "Tell him," said Rechiarius in reply, "that I despise his friendship and his arms, but that I shall soon try if he will dare to expect me under the walls of Thoulouse."

To prevent the designs of the Suevic king, Theodoric immediately crossed the Pyrenees at the head of a numerous body of Visigoths, Franks, and Burgundians, professing himself the servant of the empire, but having privately stipulated for the real dominion of his Spanish conquests for himself and his successors. Rechiarius advanced to oppose the invader, and the two armies met on the banks of the Urbicus, about twelve miles from Astorga, in Gallicia, when a decisive victory obtained by

Digitized by Google

the Goths deprived the Suevi of their dominion in Spain.

Rechiarius, wounded, was obliged to fly, and embarked at Braga, in hopes of reaching Africa; but a tempest drove his vessel into the mouth of the Douro, where he was seized and put to death by order of his brother-in-law, who after pillaging Braga, the capital of the Suevi, and advancing into Lusitania as far as Merida, left his new conquest under the care of his lieutenant Aclilulphus, and returned to Thoulouse.

The state of the Roman empire was now deplorable. Avitus had been deposed, and Majorian, of whom it was said that he excelled in *every* virtue *all* his predecessors who had reigned over the Romans, had been placed in his stead by count Recimer, the son of a daughter of the Visigoth Wallia by a Suevic father. Recimer had performed great services to Rome, and was general of its armies at the death of Maximus; he had regarded Avitus with jealousy as the creature of Theodoric, and had accordingly caused him to be first exiled and afterwards murdered. To revenge his death Theodoric took up arms against Majorian, but being defeated near Lyons, he purchased the friendship of the emperor by an acknowledgment of the superiority of Rome both in Gaul and Spain.

Meantime the Peninsula suffered all the evils that petty internal warfare can inflict on a country: the coasts were plundered by the vessels of Gen-

Digitized by Google

seric, who annually fitted out a piratical fleet in the ports of Carthage, with which his captains ravaged the shores of the Mediterranean.

The death of Majorian left Theodoric at liberty to resume the sovereignty of Spain. Of three Suevic kings, Frauta, Frumarius, and Remismond, one had died just before Majorian, and the other two, apprehensive of the designs of Theodoric, sent an embassy to Thoulouse, offering peace and their assistance against the Romans.

Their offers were accepted, and a daughter of Theodoric, bestowed in marriage on Remismond, became the pledge of their alliance. But the peace was of short duration. The nobles who had accompanied the princess into Spain, found on their return that Theodoric had been murdered, in the thirteenth year of his reign, by his brother Euric, a man of greater ferocity of character, but also of much greater talents both for peace and war.

On his accession to the throne of the Visigoths, he found Gallicia and Lusitania in the hands of the Suevi, Betica and Catalonia were annexed to his own crown, while the rest of the Peninsula was under the nominal dominion of the Romans. Euric early determined on making himself master of the whole of Spain; at the head of a powerful army he speedily reduced the Vandals to the limits of Gallicia, and despatching a body of troops from the borders of Lusitania to Pamplona and Zaragoza, those two important places surrendered, and their

Digitized by Google

conquerors joined Euric before Tarragona, which he took after a long siege, and thus gave the final blow to the Roman empire in Spain.

Unlike the other Gothic invaders, Euric did not content himself with the simple conquest of the country. He endeavoured to regulate its internal polity, and though the laws of the Visigoths had been gradually undermining the Roman jurisprudence, he was the first of their kings who reduced them to writing, and prohibited the use of the Roman code. The other Gothic nations allowed every man to choose the law by which he would be judged; but this privilege was contrary to the custom of his tribe, and although many of the Roman laws were adopted, the administration was required to be according to the national forms.

Having settled his new conquests in peace, Euric turned his attention towards his Gallic kingdom. Odoacer had assumed the dominion of Italy, and, in the name of the empire, resigned to Euric all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the ocean. Arles and Marseilles soon submitted to his arms; he possessed Auvergne; and at his courts of Bourdeaux and of Arles, to which latter place he had removed the seat of government, he received ambassadors from the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, the Vandals of Africa, the Huns of Pannonia, and even from the Persian king. His premature death in the seventeenth year of his reign, just at the time when

Digitized by Google

Clovis became king of the Franks, probably prevented the Visigoths from establishing their dominion permanently over the whole of Gaul.

By the Roman catholic priests, the principal historians of this period, the character of Euric has been represented as harsh and cruel, and his reign a period of persecution against the church. But Euric, like all his predecessors, was an Arian, and the extent of his persecution seems to have been the placing Arian bishops in those sees where orthodox prelates had been accustomed to rule.

Euric was succeeded by his son Alaric II. at the moment when Theodoric the Great became king of Italy. The policy of that wise monarch always tended to peace, and in order to secure tranquillity in the western world, he allied himself by marriage with the powerful princes of the Visigoths, Franks, and Burgundians. He married Adalfleda, the sister of Clovis, king of the Franks. To Gundebald, king of the Burgundians, he gave one of his own daughters, and bestowed another on the young Alaric, who had soon occasion to feel the benefit of his powerful alliance; for though, during his reign, Spain continued in tranquillity, his Gallic dominions were attacked by Clovis, whose ambition could not be satisfied with the narrow limits within which Euric had confined his nation.

Having overcome the Burgundians, Clovis availed himself of the superstitious attachment of his subjects to the orthodox faith of Rome to jus-

Digitized by Google

tify a war, which he was resolved to undertake against the Visigoths. Before he openly declared his intentions, however, he proposed a personal interview with Alaric, to settle some differences that had arisen between their subjects on their respective frontiers. Clovis and Alaric accordingly met on a small island in the Loire, near Amboise; they embraced, conversed familiarly, and feasted together; and separated with the warmest professions of peace. But their apparent confidence concealed the most treacherous designs. At a meeting of the Frankish nobles, which Clovis called together at Paris, already become the royal seat of the French monarchs, he declared that it grieved him to see the Arians possess the fairest part of Gaul, that he would march against them, with the aid of God; and, having vanquished the heretics, he would divide their lands among his faithful followers.

Clovis had already tampered with the orthodox subjects of Alaric, especially with their bishops, and had consequently undermined the authority of their Arian king; nevertheless Alaric was able to collect a force more numerous than the united Franks and Burgundians, which Clovis was leading against him. Theodoric in vain endeavoured to negociate between his kinsmen. Nothing less than the destruction of the Arians could satisfy the zeal of Clovis and his new Christians, and at every step he pretended that he was attended by miraculous assistance. The little river Vigenna or Vienne,

Digitized by Google

swollen by rains beyond its usual limits, seemed to impede his progress, when a white hart of extraordinary size and beauty appeared to him, and taught him where to find the ford, which to this day bears the name of the Ford of the Hart. The Franks, confident of divine aid after so signal a favour, met the Visigoths on the banks of the Claine, about ten miles from Poitiers; and after an obstinate contest Clovis and Alaric met in single combat, when Alaric fell by the hand of his enemy, who narrowly escaped by the fleetness of his horse from the fury of two Goths, who rode desperately against him to revenge the death of their prince. This battle decided the fate of Aquitaine, which was thenceforward united to France. Besides the territory gained, the spoil taken was immense. It consisted principally of the booty taken by Alaric the First, at the sack of Rome, among which were the vases, the candlesticks, and other precious things which the Romans had brought from Jerusalem, when they destroyed that holy city. But the farther progress of Clovis was checked by Theodoric, whose remonstrances, backed by a powerful army, compelled the Franks to raise the siege of Arles, and preserved to the Visigoths in Gaul the province of Septimania, a narrow tract of coast from the Rhone to the Pyrenees.

On the death of Alaric, his only child by his wife Theudicoda, the daughter of Theodoric, was Amalric, an infant not yet of age to govern; therefore,

Digitized by Google

according to the usage of their nation, the Visigoths elected Gesalic the natural son of Alaric for their king. But Theodoric, offended at the indignity offered to his grandson, sent eighty thousand men into Spain under Ilba, whose successes in Gaul had merited the confidence of his master; and after three years of contest Gesalic was slain in battle near Barcelona. The young Amalric was instantly proclaimed king under the guardianship of Theudis, a noble Goth, who during the minority of his pupil governed with the greatest prudence as well as vigour; so that it was with regret that the Visigoths saw him retire, when the king was of age to take the government upon himself.

Amalric married Clotilda, the daughter of Clovis. The orthodox faith of the princess drew on her the hatred or contempt of her Arian subjects, and whenever she appeared in public she was exposed to the insults of the rabble, who, not content with assailing her with opprobrious language, threw stones at her, and she often returned home covered with blood. She bore this treatment for some years with the patience of a martyr; but at length wearied out, she sent a scarf stained with her blood to her brother Childebert, accompanying it with a piteous letter, in which she invited him into Spain, to revenge her wrongs and those of the church.

Childebert accordingly invaded the dominions of his brother-in-law with fifty thousand men, and ravaged the country as far as Barcelona, near which

Digitized by Google

place Amalric was killed in a pitched battle, and in him ended the race of kings descended from the first Alaric.

Theudis, the tutor of Amalric and an Ostrogoth, was unanimously elected by the Visigoths to succeed. His talents and his prudence justified the election. He had married a noble Spanish lady, whose estates could furnish him with both men and money, so that he easily drove the Franks back to their own limits, and then applied himself to the internal regulation of the kingdom. In this, however, he was disturbed in the eleventh year of his reign by a new invasion of the Franks, who, under Childebert and Clotharius, crossed the Pyrenees, and besieged Zaragoza. It was believed that the city was miraculously delivered by St. Vincent, whose surplice was exposed on the walls, and the superstitious Franks respectfully retired, leaving the inhabitants at peace on condition of receiving as a gift the wonderful garment, whose power they had just felt. On their retreat they were attacked and defeated in the passes of the Pyrenees by Theudis, and accepted such conditions of peace as he pleased to impose.

Having thus repulsed his enemies to the north, and established tranquillity within the Peninsula, Theudis turned his attention towards Africa, where the victories of Belisarius over the descendants of Genseric, excited considerable alarm lest he should extend the war beyond the Straits. The expedi-

Digitized by Google

tion of Theudis was, however, unsuccessful: he was defeated before the walls of Ceuta, and, hastily retreating to his ships, he saved them and himself by a speedy flight to Spain. His alarm for the Peninsula was needless; the Roman general found full occupation in the other provinces; and Theudis had leisure to prosecute his plans for the restoration of Spain, which the long civil wars between the Visigoths and Suevi had reduced in many places to great wretchedness. His efforts were partially successful; but still the whole country suffered from famine, and a consequent pestilence, for two full years in his reign.

Although this king was an Arian, he allowed a most entire toleration to every sect and religion, and acted on all occasions with great mildness. He was assassinated in the seventeenth year of his reign; and as he was dying he pardoned his murderer, and caused him to be set at liberty.

Theodesil, nephew of Totila, king of the Ostrogoths, who had distinguished himself in the Frankish wars, was elected in the room of Theudis. His short reign was chiefly spent in opposing the progress of the orthodox bishops, whose influence in the cortes, or national councils, held generally at Toledo, gave them great weight in temporal as well as spiritual matters. The orthodox writers represent him accordingly as guilty of tyranny and every vice; yet the chief accusation brought against him is, that, incredulous concerning the annual

Digitized by Google

miracle by which the baptismal fonts at Osset were spontaneously filled with water at Easter, he caused trenches to be dug round the church, in order that if, as he imagined, concealed pipes were laid to convey the water, the contrivers might be exposed, and the conversion of his people stopped. The dexterity of the priests baffled his sagacity, however: the fonts filled as usual, the people flocked to be baptized, and the murder of the king, which followed shortly afterwards, was justified as the putting to death of a persecutor of the true church.

Agila, who succeeded Theodesil, passed the five years of his reign in a continual series of petty feuds; and being defeated in battle, he was murdered at Merida, and his rival Anathagild placed on the throne. The beginning of this reign was stormy, but the issue more prosperous and tranquil. The event most remarkable in its consequences was the marriage of Anathagild's two daughters by his wife Goisuinda to two of the princes of the Franks. Sigebert, king of Austrasia, espoused the famous Brunechilda or Brunehaut, while Chilperic, king of Soissons, received the hand of Galsuinda. Both these princesses abjured the Arian heresy, and it is even said that they had prevailed on their father to embrace privately the orthodox creed.

Anathagild died a natural death at Toledo, and an interregnum succeeded; during which it appears probable that his widow, Goisuinda, exer-

Digitized by Google

eised considerable authority. Meantime the people of Narbonne had elected Liuva, a noble Goth, of great prudence and experience, as king. He fixed his own residence at Narbonne, and sent his brother Leuvigild to take on him the government of the peninsula. That prince shortly married Goisuinda, the widow of his predecessor, and immediately turned his attention to the recovery of those cities and provinces which had either fallen into the hands of other masters, or had assumed their independence during the interregnum. He deserved the respect of his enemies and the love of his subjects. The Catholics enjoyed a free toleration, and the death of his elder brother Liuva only extended his dominion without altering his conduct. The Franks, who had attacked the frontier of the Gallic possessions of the Visigoths, were repulsed by him, and a peace was concluded; one of the conditions of which was the marriage of his eldest son, Hermenegild, with Ingundis, daughter of Sigibert, king of Austrasia and of Brunehilda, and consequently grand-daughter of his wife Goisuinda. Anxious to avoid the evils of a contested succession to the crown, Leovigild had bestowed the regal title on both his sons, and Hermenegild enjoyed the principality of Seville, where he usually held his court. Ingundis, at the period of her marriage, was no more than thirteen years of age. She was exquisitely beautiful, and was beheld with admiration and love by the whole court of Toledo,

Digitized by Google

excepting her grandmother. That bigoted princess persecuted the young queen on account of her orthodox faith, and, incensed by her resistance of the Arian doctrines, she dashed her on the ground, kicked her till she was covered with blood, and then dragged her by her beautiful hair to a fish-pond, into which she threw her. The sufferings of Ingundis naturally disgusted her husband with the faith of those who had so cruelly abused her. Her complaints, supported by the arguments of Leander, archbishop of Seville, converted the prince to the orthodox faith, and, forgetting his duties as a son and a subject, he raised a civil war in the kingdom. Hermenegild's cause was embraced by several of the principal cities in Spain, and he invited the Suevi and the Franks to take part with the church and invade his native land. He placed his wife and infant son in the hands of the Romans, from whom he solicited aid, and sent Leander to obtain assistance from the emperor of Constantinople.

But the activity and experience of Leovigild prevented the evil which the imprudent zeal of his son was about to bring on the kingdom. Merida, Cordova, and Seville, which had endured long sieges, were at length subdued; and with the latter town Hermenegild fell into the hands of his father. The king, however, pardoned him, and, despoiling him of his titles, permitted him in decent exile the exercise of his new faith. But the prince could not be satisfied with a private station. His re-

Digitized by Google

peated attempts to renew rebellious war, though praised by the orthodox historians as proofs of unextinguishable zeal for the right cause of religion, were at length reluctantly punished by his father; whose latter days were embittered by the sentence of death he was forced to pronounce on his son, and which was executed privately in the tower of Seville.

The last year of Leovigild's life is remarkable for the annexation of Gallicia to the kingdom of Spain. Hitherto the Suevic princes had governed in regular succession their almost independent subjects; but the last of them being overcome by the arms of Leovigild, their existence ceased as a separate nation in Spain.

Recared I., the second son of Leovigild, succeeded his father. He, like his brother, had embraced the orthodox faith, but exercised it with more prudence. His first act sufficiently proclaimed his intentions with regard to religion. Having espoused Clodosintha, sister of Childebert of Lorraine and of the beautiful Ingundis, he recalled all the bishops who had been exiled by his father for participating in the rebellion of Hermenegild. In a public assembly of the state he invited all his nobles to embrace the doctrines of Rome, and from his accession may be dated the ruin of the Arians in Spain. In his reign Biscay and Navarre were added to the crown.

Recared was succeeded by Bada, who was young;

Digitized by Google

beautiful, and much beloved by the people. He was the son of Recared, by his first wife Badona, whom the fabulous chronicles make out to be a daughter of Arthur, king of Britain. He reigned but two years, when he was assassinated by Witeric, who seized the throne, and whose warlike temper suited the people, and made them forget the crime by which he acquired his power. He, however, gave great offence to the orthodox bishops, by the disposition he showed to recall their Arian rivals: to prevent so great a calamity, Gondomar, a noble, caused him to be murdered as he was sitting down to dinner, and received the crown as the reward of this base action.

For two years Gondomar struggled incessantly with domestic faction, and died a natural death in Toledo in 612.

The choice of Sisebert to fill the throne was creditable to the electors. He was a man of consummate prudence, a skilful warrior, and what was more uncommon in his time and country, fond of letters. His orthodox faith has merited the praise of the Spanish historians, but we cannot look without horror on his persecution of the Arians and the Jews.

From the time of the emperor Hadrian Spain had been full of numerous colonies of Jews. They even pretended to have been introduced there in the time of Solomon, when his ships sought the gold and tin of the country. The forty thousand

Digitized by Google

families of the tribe of Judah, and the ten thousand of the tribe of Benjamin, said to have been transported thither by Hadrian, had multiplied. They possessed numerous synagogues throughout the country; and whatever learning and art they had brought from the East had been preserved among them by those peculiarities which have made them in every other country, as it were, a nation within a nation. Possessed of knowledge, while their neighbours were barbarously ignorant, they were the merchants, the handicraftsmen, and the physicians of the countries where they had settled: they had, consequently, amassed great riches, and possessed an influence that gradually excited the envy of their Christian countrymen. The Christians, from being a persecuted sect, had become triumphant in the civilized world, and, in their turn, persecuted unbelievers. Hence the Jews began very generally to feel the evils to which their sins had rendered them liable. In Spain the zeal of Sisebert for the Catholic church, which led him to persecute the Arians, was easily turned against the Jews. Their fortunes were confiscated, their persons tortured—they were forbidden to leave the country and preserve their faith, even by voluntary exile. Baptism was forced upon them, and it is related that ninety thousand were in one day received into the church by the holy rite. At length the clergy, ashamed of this profanation of the sign of peace, interfered with the king to pre-

Digitized by Google

vent forced conversion; but by a strange contradiction decreed that those who had already received that forced admission into the church should be compelled to continue in it.

Other and worthier cares, however, chiefly occupied Sisebert. He encouraged commerce; himself cultivated letters; and it appears that he paid attention to increasing the number of his ships, whether for improving his trade or protecting his coasts from the pirates which infested the Mediterranean, and which even then found their retreats in the ports of Africa.

Sisebert, who on many accounts deserved the love of his subjects, died in the year 621; his son, an infant, was placed on the throne, under the name of Recared II., but his reign only lasted three months. Suintila, who had married Theodora, the daughter of Sisebert, and was himself the son of Recared I., succeeded his brother-in-law. He had greatly distinguished himself by his military talents during the reign of Sisebert, and the people loved him for his amiable qualities. Finding the laws in his time very defective, he endeavoured to reform them, and added several new regulations to the ancient code. Anxious that his posterity should succeed to his throne, he caused his son, the young Recimer, to be crowned and acknowledged by the nobles. But this measure, by cutting off the hopes which each man of power or riches might entertain

Digitized by Google

in an elective monarchy, excited the jealousy of Sisenand, a soldier of great reputation, who secretly negotiated with Dagobert, king of France, and prevailed on him, at the price of ten pounds of gold, to invade his country, where, being joined by Sisenand and his friends, they drove Suintila, with his wife and son, into exile, in the tenth year of his reign.

No sooner was Sisenand on the throne, than, sensible of the evils attendant on the irregular succession, he assembled the cortes, or great national council of the kingdom at Toledo. At these councils the king usually presided, and the dignified clergy and the nobles and magnates of the kingdom assisted. On this occasion the proceedings were very remarkable. Having regard first to the affairs of the church, the famous St. Isidore was commissioned to frame a missal and breviary for the Spanish church, which should remedy the wants and irregularities of those in common use. This compilation, which formed the ritual of the Gothic church until the 15th century, is commonly called the Musarabic liturgy. The forcible baptism of Jews was formally prohibited; but several severe laws against them were either enacted or renewed, particularly those which excluded them and their posterity from all offices and trusts.

A law was made against all such as should assume the government without the election of the nobles

Digitized by Google

and prelates; and the clause that kings who are intrusted with power to do good to the community, may not abuse that power, seems to acknowledge a right in those who confer the crown to take it away, if the condition be broken on which it is given. Some authors say that the first collective body of Spanish laws, called Fuera Juzgo, was framed at this council.

Sisenand dying in 636, the cortes assembled after his death, and placed Chintila on the throne. His short reign of three years appears to have been entirely occupied by the regulation of the internal affairs of the kingdom.

Tulca succeeded by the choice of the cortes, but he died in two years; and the law, requiring the consent of the people to the occupation of the throne, was broken in upon by a fortunate soldier.

Chindasuinto, who was at the head of the armies, seized the crown on the death of Tulca, wore it eleven years, and appears to have deserved it. By his wife, Reciberga, who was of a noble Gothic family, he had three children, the eldest of whom, Recisuinto, was crowned by his father about three years before his own death, which happened in 653.

The reign of Recisuinto was fortunate for Spain. The country enjoyed tranquillity within, and the state of its agriculture and commerce daily improved. The king paid great attention to his ships, and the strengthening the towns on the coast of the Mediterranean, and in that part of Africa

Digitized by Google.

which was still annexed to the Gothic crown. He was induced to this caution by the rapid progress the Mahometans had made during his reign. From Egypt, where they had established an empire, they had spread over Mauritania, and had seized the greater part of the conquests of the Visigoths. Their spirit of enterprise seemed to know no bounds, and Recisuinto naturally feared that the narrow sea that divides Spain from Africa would prove but a feeble obstacle to their ambition.

Recisuinto died however, before the Mahometans could extend their conquests so far, and was replaced by Wamba, a man advanced in years, but prudent, warlike, and active. He had been the intimate friend and adviser of the two last kings; and when the prelates and nobles came to offer him the crown, he refused it on account of his age, and his desire to spend the remainder of his life in tranquillity. "What!" said one of the electors, "do you dare to refuse to serve the public, and to take upon you the burthen of watching for the good of the people? If you hesitate longer, this sword shall cut off the few days whose tranquillity you prefer to the interest of your country." Wamba, thus pressed, yielded, and proceeded to Toledo, where the ceremony of anointing and crowning him was performed by the archbishop. At the moment when the holy oil was poured upon his head, it was said that a vapour was seen to ascend from it, whence a bee came out, which, after ho-

Digitized by Google

vering over the new monarch, flew upwards, and was no more seen. This prodigy was looked on as a good omen, and Wamba proceeded to swear to govern according to the laws, and to act in all things for the good of his people.

But the elevation of Wamba was regarded with envy by some of the relations of the last king. An insurrection was raised in Biscay, and while Wamba was occupied in quelling it, Paul, a kinsman of Recisuinto, joining with count Renosindo, governor of Tarragona, seized Girona, Barcelona, and several neighbouring towns, and Paul assumed the regal dignity. Meanwhile Hilperic, count of Nismes, and the abbot Remigius, who assumed the mitre in that see, driving the bishop who remained faithful to Wamba into exile, excited a revolt in the Gallic provinces, and joined the party of Paul.

Wamba, sensible of the importance of time to the rebels, resolved to attack them instantly, before they could assemble or discipline any very formidable body of troops. On his march into Catalonia he punished severely any of his soldiers who either oppressed the people, or failed to pay a just price for the provisions they required, and thus gained the affection of the inhabitants. He soon obtained possession of Girona, whose bishop was friendly to him. Colibre, Vulturonia, and Castrolibia also yielded; while a detachment from his army, sent by a mountain path, took Clausura, within which Ra-

Digitized by Google

nosind and some others of the rebellious chiefs had fortified themselves.

Before Paul, who occupied Narbonne, had time to despatch troops to defend the passes of the Pyrenees, Wamba had already crossed those mountains, and formed his camp on the plain, which extends from their base to the gates of the city, on which Paul retired to Nismes, leaving his general Withimir to defend Narbonne. The place was attacked at once by four divisions of the army of Wamba, protected by a fleet, which he had caused to accompany his progress along the coast, and after an assault of three hours it fell into his hands. Withimir, the bishop, and all the considerable men of the place were made prisoners, but the inhabitants were not molested.

Magalona, Agatha, and Beziers soon met with the same fate, the rebellious chiefs flying from these towns, as soon as Wamba approached, to Nismes, which, at that time, for the strength of its walls, the number of its inhabitants, the beauty of its buildings, and its monuments of war, was the chief city of Narbonese Gaul.

It was soon invested by thirty thousand men, under four of Wamba's chosen captains; but they were destitute of the proper machines for battering the walls, and one whole day was spent in combat with the besieged, each party claiming the advantage in the evening. It so happened that, during

Digitized by Google

the fight, one of Paul's soldiers who was engaged hand to hand with a man of the king's, said in his rage, "Do your worst to-day, for to-morrow you will be beaten; by that time our French and German allies will join us." This threat was immediately made known to the king, whose camp was only four miles from the town; and he accordingly despatched a reinforcement of ten thousand men, who marching in the night, joined their friends before the renewal of the battle next day.

Paul, though almost in despair at this reinforcement of his enemy, and at the tardiness of his allies, led his troops to the combat, and maintained an almost equal fortune for two-thirds of the day, when some of Wamba's people having set fire to the gates, both parties entered promiscuously, one to attack their foes, the other to save their friends, and the confusion became dreadful. The inhabitants, imagining that they had been betrayed by the Spaniards in Paul's service, fell upon them and killed them wherever they could find them, and the unfortunate usurper saw his people destroyed by both parties, without the power to help them.

The shouts of victory from the king's troops soon told him that his reign was at an end, and he fled from the palace through the dead and the dying to sanctuary, after tearing off his regal ornaments, and confessing the folly of his enterprise, and the weakness of his conduct in the war. "We confess," said he, "that we have erred—but was it once or

Digitized by Google

twice?—No, rather in all to which we have put our hand, we have governed ourselves without either prudence or resolution."

After the fall of the city, Archibald, bishop of Narbonne, who had been forced to join Paul's party, was chosen to intercede with the king for a general pardon; which was granted to all but the principal heads of the rebellion. The Frank and German captives were released and dismissed with presents; all that had been taken from the church was restored, the dead were buried, and the rebel chiefs, whose lives had been spared, were now brought before the king and his council for judgment. Sentence of death was pronounced on Paul, but the king contented himself with causing his head to be shaved, long hair being a mark of nobility, and condemning him to perpetual imprisonment.

Meantime Chilperic, king of France, had advanced almost to the frontier with the succours promised to Paul, but, learning the fate of Nismes, he returned without committing any act of hostility; and it does not appear that the peace between France and Spain was ever afterwards disturbed during Wamba's reign.

At Canaba, a little town near Narbonne, the soldiers received permission to return to their homes, and Wamba re-entered Spain with only a small body of troops.

His return to Toledo, his capital, only six months

Digitized by Google

after his departure for the war, had the air of a triumph; all the people came out to meet and congratulate him. He was preceded by his prisoners, mounted on camels, shaven, barefooted, and meanly dressed, Paul having the distinction of a black leather crown. Then followed the soldiers, decked out with plumes and rich coloured liveries. The king was surrounded by his warriors; his white hairs, and the memory of his great actions, enhancing the majesty of his appearance.

Spain now enjoyed the benefit of a wise administration during a long peace; the king took pride in beautifying his cities, especially Toledo, which he very much enlarged, and continued to attend to the internal regulations of his kingdom until near the end of his reign, when the Arabs from Africa, invited, it is said, by Ervigio, a kinsman of Recisuinto, appeared off the eastern coast of Spain with a formidable fleet. Wamba was, however, ready: his ships, to which he had always directed a great portion of his cares, were fully prepared, and he gained a complete victory, taking a hundred and fifty of the enemy's vessels, and for this time saving his country from the yoke of the Mahometans.

But though Ervigio was disappointed in the bad success of his first enterprise, he resolved to gain the crown by any means. Accordingly, having administered a powerful drug to Wamba, which appears to have produced a temporary loss of reason, his attendants caused him to be wrapped in a

Digitized by Google

monk's cowl, according to the superstitious custom of the times, that he might die secure of passing to heaven from this mortal life, and ere he recovered his senses forced him to sign a will, appointing Ervigio his successor.

Scarcely had the paper been withdrawn from his hand, when his recollection returned; but though fully aware of the deceit that had been practised, he retired to a monastery, determined not to infringe the law which forbade any ecclesiastic to wear the crown. He lived six years after his abdication in that tranquillity which he had so reluctantly given up, when the choice of the nation had placed him on the throne.

The reign of Ervigio was remarkable for the concessions he made to the church, in order to cover the iniquity of the transaction by which he obtained the crown. The principal change he made in the government, was the placing in the hands of the archbishop of Toledo the privilege of nominating the bishops throughout the country, which had been hitherto exercised by the Gothic kings. Having no son by his wife Liubigotona, he was desirous of securing the throne for his daughter Caxilona, and therefore married her to Egica, or Egiza, a relation of Wamba, whose influence he thought might secure the succession. Ervigio died with the reputation of a tyrant, A. D. 687.

Egica was no sooner seated on the throne, than he divorced Caxilona, on account of the resent-

Digitized by Google

ment he felt against her father for his treatment of Wamba. This reign was frequently disturbed by domestic feuds, chiefly excited by Sisberto, archbishop of Toledo, who was consequently excommunicated and banished.

Willing to draw over so considerable a part of the people as was formed by the Jewish congregations, Egica conferred nobility on such of that nation as should voluntarily embrace Christianity, while those who resisted the invitation of the church to become members were subjected to more severe oppressions than ever. To justify these proceedings it was alleged, that the Israelites in Spain caballed with their brethren in Africa and with the Moors, who had pretty generally become Mahometans, intending to deliver up Spain into the hands of the latter.

The active movements of the Moors, who seemed not to find room for their conquests, probably suggested the fears that such an accusation against a considerable body of his subjects imply; and to secure, if possible, the kingdom against the dangers impending from that people, especially in the interval between the death of one elective monarch and the elevation of another, Egica made his son Witiza his associate on the throne; and to render the royal office still more sacred in the eyes of his subjects, he caused the king and his family to be prayed for in the ordinary service of the church, and forbade the widow of a king to enter into a

Digitized by Google

second marriage, enjoining all widowed queens to take the veil.

Egica died at Toledo, A.D. 698, after a reign of eleven years.

The early part of Witiza's reign was filled with the most praiseworthy actions. He recalled the banished Jews, restored their estates, and caused all records of offences against the crown to be burnt, in order that no person might be punished for by-past crimes. However, he gave great offence to the orthodox clergy by promulgating a law permitting the priests to marry, and he is said to have recommended, both by precept and example, the practice of polygamy. The two sons of Chindasuinto, Theodofred, duke of Cordova, and Favila, were too young on the death of either their father or their brother Recisuind, to be then competitors for the crown; but Theodofred had not failed to urge his claim, when the throne had afterwards become vacant, and Witiza, fearing his popular qualities, caused him to be seized and his eyes put out, and stripped him of his dukedom; and, finding Favila a more active rival than Theodofred, he caused him to be put to death. When Theodofred was seized at Cordova, his only son, don Roderic, fled to the Romans; whence, however, he speedily returned to Spain, where being joined by his cousin Pelayo, the son of Favila, he raised an insurrection in Andalusia, and having taken Witiza prisoner, he put out his eyes in retaliation of the injury done to his father, and

Digitized by Google

imprisoned him in Cordova, where he died shortly afterwards.

It is believed that the crimes of Witiza, which cost him so dear, had been committed partly at the suggestion of his brother Oppas, archbishop of Seville, partly at that of count Julian, who had married his sister. However that may be, the family feuds that arose at this time were the immediate cause of the loss of the Gothic kingdom in Spain, and the conquest of the country by the Moors. Witiza left two sons, Witiza and Sisebut. On his accession to the throne he had found that the nobles had become more like independent princes than vassals subject to their superior lord, and that they owed this independence partly to the strong castles they had fortified for themselves in different parts of the kingdom. To remedy this evil and at the same time rescue the common people from the petty tyranny of these chiefs, he caused a great number of these castles to be rased, and very much reduced the authority of the princes. This was probably one of the causes of his destruction; for the nobles joined the prelates, already incensed against him: and Roderic, the son of Theodofred, was placed on the throne.

Don Roderic before his accession had distinguished himself in arms, was inured to cold, hunger, and fatigue, and in all things distinguished for the qualities becoming a prince. But the possession of unlimited power soon changed his cha-

Digitized by Google

racter; and he is said to have surpassed all his predecessors in the indulgence of his passions. He imprudently persecuted the sons of Witiza, who at first sought refuge with their uncle, count Julian, who possessed large estates in different parts of Spain, and was besides governor of Andalusia, and of that part of Mauritania which still belongs to Spain. But Julian, after entertaining them a short time, procured an apparent accommodation between them and the king, and they returned to Toledo. At that time it was the custom for the sons and daughters of the nobility and gentry to be placed in families of higher rank than their own, that they might by their residence in the houses of persons of distinction acquire the knowledge and manners which were nowhere else to be learned. The daughter of count Julian was one of the many noble damsels who attended on the young queen Egiloua, and might be considered as a hostage for the fidelity of her father. But the passions of don Roderic converted what might have been a safeguard into a source of ruin. Seduced or betrayed, Florinda, better known by the name of La Cava, fell a victim to his vices; and she failed not instantly to give her father notice of the insult offered through her to her family. Julian, under pretence of business, left his wife at Ceuta, and repairing to Spain, withdrew Florinda from Toledo; and, taking her with him to Africa, instantly entered into a negotiation with the Mahometan general, Muza Ben Noseir, whom he

Digitized by Google

had just before beaten back from the walls of Ceuta, which he had attacked, and entreated his assistance to punish the crime of Roderic. Muza immediately despatched messengers to the caliph Walid, to obtain permission to undertake the new conquest, and meantime took care to inform himself from the Spaniards and Jewish exiles settled in Ceuta and in Tangiers, which he had lately conquered, of the state of Spain, and learned that the king was most unpopular, and the people, enervated by a long peace, were farther weakened by a recent famine, which had been followed by a pestilence. For the country itself, he learned that it was, to use the words of the Arabic historian, "Syria, in soil and air; Yemen, in climate; India, in spice and flowers; Hedjaz, in fruits and grain; Cathay, in mines; and Aden, for its useful coasts; full of cities and magnificent monuments of its ancient kings, and of the Greeks—that wise people." The caliph's consent to the enterprise being obtained, Muza deputed Tarif Ben Zeyad to examine the country with 15,000 men, which he sent over in four ships, in the month of July, 710. He landed at Tarifa, the ancient Tartesum, and thence marched to the castle of count Julian, at Algezira Alhadia, or the green island, which to this day bears the name of Algeziras.

Tarif, satisfied with his reception and pleased with the country, returned to Muza, and made so favourable a report that in the ensuing spring he was

Digitized by Google

again sent into Spain with five thousand veteran troops, the means of transport being furnished by Julian and his associates. His landing was opposed by 1,700 Christians, under Edeco, one of the lieutenants of Roderic; but he was speedily put to flight, and Tarif fortified himself in the mountain now called, by a slight corruption from the name *Gebal Tarif*, given it by him, Gibraltar. The neighbouring governors immediately gave notice to the court of Toledo of the descent of the Arabs. The dukes and counts, bishops and nobles, of the Gothic nation, were immediately summoned by don Roderic, and an army of ninety or a hundred thousand men was quickly assembled.

Meantime the troops of Tarif had increased, by repeated reinforcements, to twelve thousand fighting men. He had overrun the lands in the neighbourhood of Algezira and Medina Sidonia, as far as the banks of the Guadiana. In the plains of Xeres, on the banks of the Guadalete, he met the army of don Roderic. The king of the Goths, in a splendid litter, placed on an ivory car, drawn by two white mules, and habited in a vest of cloth of gold and embroidery, harangued his soldiers as if he were leading them to certain victory. They advanced to the sound of trumpets; while the Arabs rushed on amid the braying of their kettle drums and cymbals. Arrows and javelins darkened the air, and the first day's fight ended without advantage on either side. Both armies lay on the field of

Digitized by Google

battle: at day-break the combat was renewed; a second evening saw the action still undecided. On the third day Tarif perceived that his weary men were beginning to sink before the overwhelming superiority of the Christian numbers. He raised himself in his stirrups, and cried to them, "Oh, Moslem! conquerors of Almagrêb! whither would you turn, and what the object of flight? The sea is behind you, and before you is the enemy. You have only your valour, and the help of God for you. Knights, do as you see me do!" So saying, he plunged into the thickest of the battle, and retrieved the fortune of the day. Meantime the archbishop Oppas, with his nephews, the sons of Witiza, who had each the command of a considerable body of troops, deserted the Christian army; and Roderic, seeing no chance of remedying the disorder of his troops, descended from his car, and, mounting his favourite horse, Orelia, is said to have fled from the field of battle. From that day he was never seen. The Christian writers are divided as to his fate. One attributes his death to the hand of Julian; another to the waters of the Guadalete, or a contiguous pool, where many of the Spanish soldiers were drowned; and a third reports that, having changed garments with a shepherd, he escaped to the borders of Lusitania, where in an obscure hermitage he wore out his days in bewailing his crimes, and lamenting the fate of Spain.

The Arab chroniclers say that he perished more nobly, by the hand of Tarif: and that his head,

Digitized by Google

being sent to the caliph, was exposed in triumph at the palace gates at Damascus.—Thus fell don Roderic, who has been called the last of the Goths.

The Arabs speedily overran all Spain; but before we proceed to the history of the conquest, we will pause, to consider the state of the country during the 300 years which had passed from the first to the last of the Gothic kings.



Ancient Carmelite in Spain.

The early times of the Gothic conquest were of course disastrous. Much that the civil polity of the Romans had built up was destroyed by the necessary consequences of a foreign war carried on within the territory; in which the invaders, resolved

Digitized by Google

on settling in the land, either destroyed or drove out the natives, and then disputed with each other for the possession of the desert they had made.

The repeated famines that occurred during this period prove how low the state of agriculture had sunk; nor was commerce in a state sufficiently prosperous to compensate for the scarcity of natural produce.

However, as the country became peaceably settled under the conquerors, and the natives began to associate, its circumstances improved. The Goths did not find it difficult to adopt the habits of luxury which a fine climate suggested, and a cultivated nation had established, in Spain. The palaces of the Roman governors and provincial nobles were soon preferred to the low cottages or narrow tents of a wandering and barbarous people, and it was not long before, in personal luxury at least, the Goths vied with their delicate predecessors.

The civil government of the Romans was, of course, disturbed by the invasion; but it was the custom of the Gothic tribes to allow every free man to choose the law by which he would be judged; so that the domestic evils of conquest were much softened. As early as the time of Euric, the inconvenience of so uncertain a system of internal government was felt; and that king, while he denied the claim to be judged by particular laws, adopted largely from the Roman code, regulations suited to the state of his kingdom, and

Digitized by Google

added to them a variety of laws founded upon the customs and usages of the Visigoths. From the reign of Recared, the first catholic king, to that of Witiz, sixteen national councils were held. During the first three days of these meetings the proceedings were strictly ecclesiastical, and were presided over by the six metropolitans, Toledo, Seville, Merida, Braga, Tarragona, and Narbonne. On the morning of the fourth day the council became the cortes or parliament of the kingdom, and the nobles of every class joined the meeting. Annual assemblies were held in like manner in the provinces, and on the whole the best purposes of law were answered by the security of property and personal safety. The king, when he ascended the throne, bound himself by an oath to God and his people to execute his important trust faithfully; and the ancient Gothic principle, that no free man could be taxed without his own consent, was enforced by several regulations, especially by one in the reign of Resismund, that the king should not in any way raise money without the consent of the cortes. In the reign of Egica the different laws enacted by the successive kings, from the time of Euric, were collected into what is called the *Liber Judicium*, divided into twelve books. This code bears the marks of a much more civilised and enlightened state of society than is denoted by any cotemporary laws of the surrounding nations.

Digitized by Google

The form of government introduced by the Visigoths was a limited hereditary monarchy; for though the son did not always succeed his father, yet the choice of a king was restricted to the royal family, and the passing over the direct heir was always either on account of infancy or imbecility. In Spain, as in the other Gothic conquests, lands were held by feudal tenures; and ecclesiastical as well as lay estates were subject to military service. The serfs or labourers were attached to the soil; but they were considered as a class much superior to the household slaves, and were admitted to bear witness in all cases in courts of justice.

Trade and commerce, though disturbed, if not ruined for a time by the Goths, began to revive as soon as their kingdom had become settled under the successors of Leovigild, if not before; and as a proof that the commercial marine was in a flourishing state, it is expressly mentioned that the ships furnished by count Julian for the transport of the Moors were merchant ships. Most probably the fleet employed by Wamba to defend the coast were also merchant vessels; for at that period commerce could scarcely have been safely carried on in unarmed vessels, and the trade that was pursued by sea was considered so honourable, that kings and nobles engaged in it.

The ships in use at that time were of various kinds. Some, like the ancient Roman galleys, without decks, and with many banks of rowers: others of a long shape, with a short mast, and a

Digitized by Google

sail of considerable width, such as are still used in the Mediterranean; and doubtless there were some also whose construction was borrowed from the northern Goths, fitted better for rough seas, having a deck, though as yet only provided with a single mast, and one small strong sail.

The civil architecture continued to be, during this period, what the Romans had left it, or perhaps declining into that mean and poor imitation which we see in the few monuments which have elsewhere survived the Roman empire.

The Gothic kings adopted without hesitation all the luxuries of the Romans; their splendid cars, their delicate tables, and their trains of attendant youths and damsels; and in the soft climate of Spain the native hardiness of the Goths was soon soothed into indolent indulgence; and as their luxury was not yet refined by arts, letters, or philosophy, the excesses of which the last kings are accused, are to be considered only as the natural result of such a state of society.

The peace of Spain was disturbed under its Gothic kings by the struggles between the professors of the orthodox Roman catholic faith and those of the Arian heresy. We have seen that the contest ended in the reign of Recared; yet the evil spirit of persecution survived the triumph of the Romish bishops, as the persecution of the Arians and the violent proceedings against the Jews too fully prove.

Yet though the Gothic kings acknowledged the

Digitized by Google

Roman church as the true one, they maintained the independence of their own clergy; and the king, or the archbishop of his own creation, nominated to the vacant sees and other ecclesiastical benefices. The Spanish church had a liturgy of its own, and the superiority acknowledged in the pope was purely spiritual.

The introduction of the monastic orders into Spain took place very early after their first institution: and in times of general ignorance they served as guardians over those embers of science and literature which were at a more favourable period to kindle into a steady and wholesome light. Among them the ancient Spanish taste for literature began to re-appear. They preserved, in rhyming chronicles, the taste for which the Goths had brought into the country, the history of their nation; and these rhyming annals probably gave much of its form to the peculiar literature of Spain at a future period.

Besides these annalists, we meet with the names of several men who distinguished themselves in letters during the three centuries of the Gothic kingdom. Marobaudes, in the reign of Theodoric, was distinguished as an orator and man of letters; and nearly about the same time flourished Dracontius, the author of a Latin poem on the creation, and Ciponius, who wrote on the fall of the angels. In the sixth century lived Ossentius, whose poem *Commitorium* has been twice published; and towards the latter period of the Gothic monarchy the

Digitized by Google

names of St. Isidore of Seville, and St. Ildefonse and St. Eugenius of Toledo, are honourably distinguished among the writers of that time.

It is not improbable that the residence of so great a number of Jews in Spain may have in some degree formed the early literature of that country, and have given the people themselves a taste for the oriental style and fictions, which was afterwards still farther fostered by the Moorish conquerors. The Goths themselves brought with them songs and legends full of magic and enchantment; and though these have perished, there is one remarkable tale which has survived in the histories both of the Moors and the Christians, and which has fully as much the character of a story of the oriental genii as of the Scandinavian wizards.

As this tale is interwoven with the history of the fall of Don Roderic, it will not be amiss to relate it here.

About a mile from the city of Toledo, in a deep valley between two rocks, there was an antique tower of sumptuous architecture, though much defaced by time. Beneath this tower there was a cave with a narrow vaulted entrance, and a doorway hewn out of the living rock. This was closed with a gate of adamant, on which there were many locks, and it was covered with an inscription in ciphers and Greek letters, of doubtful sense, importing that he who should open the cave should find both good and evil. Many kings, hoping to discover a treasure, had attempted to force the

Digitized by Google

entrance to the cave; but the instant that tools were applied to the locks, so dreadful a noise was heard, that it seemed as if the hills themselves would crumble and bury the intruders. Hence every man had fled; and the later kings, comprehending that the fated monarch was not yet born, caused other gates to be erected without the passage, so as to prevent the vulgar from approaching the talisman. At length, in evil hour, came Roderic, who, hearing of the second landing of Tarif in Spain, resolved to penetrate the mysterious cavern, and see if there he could find a remedy against the intruding strangers. He approached, the doors gave way, but a mighty blast at once extinguished the torches, and his companions fled in astonishment and fear, saying they had seen enough. Roderic seized a fresh torch and rushed into the cavern. All around it was painted in the likeness of a fair edifice, on whose walls were written prophecies and threats, and before which stood dark figures, whose horses and whose armour were not those of Spain. In the centre there stood a pedestal seven feet high, and on it there was a grim statue, which ever and anon beat the ground with a tremendous war-club, causing the earth to shake with a sound as if of thunder and the beating of the ocean waves. On his breast was written, "I do my work." At the bidding of Roderic the statue rested on his mace, and the noise, all but that as of the waves on the sea shore, ceased, and Roderic read, "By a stranger nation thou

Digitized by Google

shalt be disinherited, and thy people oppressed;" and on the shoulders of the statue were written the words, "I invoke the Arabs." No sooner had the king read these fatal sentences than the statue resumed his work. The mace again beat the ground, and the cave was filled with louder noise. Roderic retired dispirited; the magic gates shut spontaneously, and the king, having sworn all his companions to secrecy as to the terrible vision of the cavern, caused the entrance to it to be filled up, that none might look upon a prodigy of such evil augury to Spain.



Jewish coin.

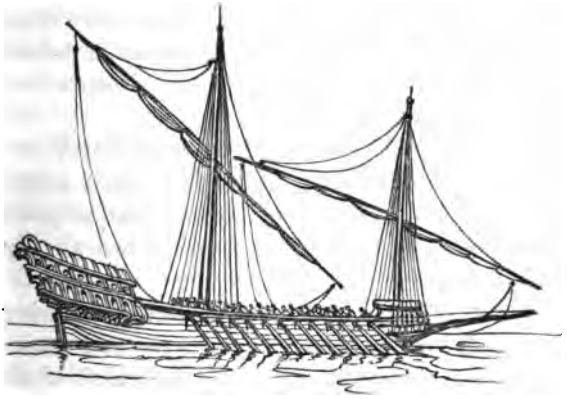


Arab coin.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE BATTLE OF THE GUADALETE, A. D. 710, TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CALIPHS OF THE WEST AT CORDOVA, A. D. 755.



Spanish galley.

As soon as the battle of the Guadalete had decided the fate of Spain, Tarif sent a messenger to Africa to apprise Muza of his success, and to present him with the head of Don Roderic as a trophy. Muza despatched the head to Damascus, where it was exposed at the palace gate, according to the barbarous customs of the time.

Digitized by Google

In writing to give an account of the success of the Moslem arms in Spain, however, moved by jealousy, he depreciated as much as possible the services of Tarif, and claimed the merit of the expedition for himself, requesting permission from Walid to continue the warfare. Meantime Muza collected forces from every part of Mauritania, called by the Arabs Almagrêb, to lead into the Peninsula, where he flattered himself that he should surpass the conquests of Tarif, and probably open a way to the spreading the Mahometan faith into Gaul, and thence into the rest of the Roman provinces in the West.

To further his project he wrote to Tarif, forbidding him to proceed farther into Spain before he should join him, and upbraiding him with his imprudence in advancing so far as he had already done with so small a force.

But Tarif, aware of the importance of following up his victory while the Goths were still panic-struck at their late defeat, called the chiefs of his forces together, and laid the letter of Muza before them. They all with one voice insisted on the necessity of proceeding immediately, and especially count Julian advised Tarif to lose no time in securing Toledo and the other towns, whose principal citizens having been with Don Roderic at the battle of the Guadalete, had either fallen in that disastrous fight or had fled to the mountains of Asturias.

Digitized by Google

On this occasion Julian and the archbishop Oppas probably acted on the conviction that Tarif meant to place the sons of Witiza on the throne of Spain, or they could hardly have given counsel so destructive to their country.

Tarif accordingly went on. He divided his small army into three bodies. The first, destined for Cordova, he placed under the guidance of Muguez, a Roman renegado, who, having been a prisoner of war, was freed and converted to the faith of Mahomet by the caliph himself. The second division was intrusted to the guidance of Zayd ben Kesadi, who marched towards Malaga; and the third he led himself by Jaen towards Toledo. Before he reached that capital Zayd joined him, having met with no resistance any where but at Ezija, near which place a small body of Christians had endeavoured to stop him; but they were easily dispersed, and Ezija, Malaga, and Elvira opened their gates, and gave hostages for the safety of a few Arabs left as guards in each. Meantime Muguez had sat down before Cordova. He summoned the inhabitants, offering them the most favourable conditions; but they, unwilling to trust him, and encouraged by the presence of some of the troops which had escaped from the battle of the Guadalete, resolved to defend their town. Muguez, however, learned from a peasant the slender state of the garrison, and also that there was an

Digitized by Google

easy entrance by the river. He determined to avail himself of the latter circumstance during the night, and marching at sunset, his troops being concealed by a thick drizzling rain, he sent a thousand horsemen, each of whom carried a foot soldier behind him, across the river: these easily entered the town, and opening the gates to the rest of the troops, the place was soon occupied, excepting the church, where a small body of Christians held out until not one remained alive. Muguez levied a very moderate contribution on the people, and taking with him hostages, he left a governor with a small body of troops to occupy the place, and marched to join Tarif before Toledo.

The Gothic capital was prepared to receive the Moorish general without opposition. The knights and lords, who had so short a time before assembled there at the call of Don Roderic, were all either killed or exiles; and the principal citizens had fled with their wives and children from before the dreaded Arabs, so that the city was without defenders; therefore, although its situation on a high rock, surrounded by a great river, might have been deemed impregnable, a deputation of the inhabitants came out to meet Tarif, and to throw themselves on his mercy. The general received them with kindness, and granted them the following terms:—

They were to deliver up their horses and arms.

Digitized by Google

Those who chose to leave the city were not to be mpeded; but they were not allowed to remove their property.

The citizens who chose to remain were to have their property secured to them.

The citizens were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the use of their churches, on payment of a moderate tax: they were not, however, to build new churches without the express permission of the established government: they were not to make public processions.

The Christians were to be judged by their own magistrates, who were, however, to be restrained from punishing such as became converts to Mahometanism.

The citizens accordingly delivered up their arms and the required hostages, and the Arab chiefs with a few troops entered Toledo. Tarif occupied the king's palace, which was built on a height overlooking the river. It was of great extent, of excellent architecture, and full of treasure belonging to the Gothic kings. In a secret chamber were twenty-five golden crowns, adorned with jacinths and other precious stones; for it had been the custom on the death of each king to lay up his crown in the royal treasury, and there had been twenty-five Gothic kings.

Tarif found many Jews established in Toledo, ind he showed them peculiar favour, because of

Digitized by Google

the assistance their nation had given the Arabs in the invasion and conquest of Spain.

Meantime Muza had landed on the coast of Algarve. His four chosen companions were a noble Arab, the head of the tribe of Koreish, and his own three younger sons; his eldest-born, Abdulasis, being left at the head of the government in Africa.

The rage of Muza was unbounded on learning that Tarif, regardless of his injunctions to remain quiet, had pursued his conquests, and had even taken possession of the capital. He resolved, for the present, to dissemble his resentment, and to march towards another part of the country, where he might find a fresh field for his arms. He accordingly crossed the mountains to Seville, and spent a month in the reduction of that city and its dependencies; when, having placed a noble Arab, a native of Medina, at the head of the government, and taken hostages, he proceeded to Carmuna, which, though an ancient walled city of great strength, surrendered with little resistance. Hence he went on to Lusitania, where he took Libla, Ocsonoba, Myrtilis, Beja, and other small towns, and reached Merida without a contest.

When the Arab army arrived before Merida, and Muza beheld its grandeur and magnificence, he exclaimed to his companions, "It seems as if all mankind had united their art and power to build up this great city: happy is he who shall become

Digitized by Google

its possessor!" He then summoned the place, but the inhabitants, confident in their high and turreted walls, answered haughtily, and issued from their gates to prevent the Arabs from forming their camp beneath their walls, but they were repulsed and driven back into their town.

As Muza had brought but eighteen thousand men from Africa, and had considerably weakened that body by the garrisons he had left in the towns behind him, he found that he had scarcely sufficient force to surround the city. He therefore sent to Africa to require the presence of his son Abdulasis, with all the reinforcements in his power. Meantime scarcely a day passed without skirmishes between the Christians and Moors, the most remarkable of which was the battle of the Tower, where the slaughter of the Arabs was so great, that the Arab historians named it, from that day, the tower of the Martyrs, or Borg Axuhada. Shortly after this affair, Abdulasis arrived from Africa with seven thousand horse, and the Christians perceiving that the Arab camp increased, while their numbers within the walls fearfully diminished, sent deputies to Muza to propose terms for delivering up their city. The chief received them graciously in his tent, where he was seated, with his venerable white beard covering his breast. Having heard their message he dismissed them, promising an answer at the same hour the next day.

No sooner had the Christians left his camp than

Digitized by Google

Muza caused his beard to be curled and dyed, so that when the deputies arrived next day, they found him in appearance quite a young man; and after receiving the conditions he proposed to the inhabitants of Merida, and being courteously entertained, they returned to the city, saying, that it was indeed useless to oppose one who had the secret of recovering his youth when he pleased.

The conditions on which Merida surrendered to Muza were the same as those which Tarif had granted to Toledo,—with this difference, that one half of the churches only should belong to the Christians, but the other half should be given to the Mahometans.

When Muza entered the city he found vast treasures collected there, and also the youth of the principal nobility of Spain, among whom was the young and beautiful Egilona, the widow of Don Roderic. She and her companions were treated with kindness; but, as was the custom of the times, they were considered to be in a state of honourable slavery, and were kept in the apartments of the family of the chief, where, though they were waited on by inferior slaves, as became their rank, they were required to embroider, or sing, or dance, at the will of their captor.

Merida was taken by Muza in the year of our Lord 711, which corresponds with the year 93 of the Hegira.

While these things were passing in Lusitania,

Digitized by Google

Tarif, after settling the new government at Toledo, had collected his troops, and marched towards Medina Celi, called by the Moors Medina Almeida, on account of a wonderful table kept there, which they believed to have been worked by genii at the command of Solomon. It was said to consist of one entire emerald set in gold, and enriched with pearls and jacinths, supported on three hundred and sixty feet of gold elegantly wrought. It had been among the spoil taken at Rome by Alaric, and was long the boast of the Gothic treasury. It was probably of pure green glass, the existence of emeralds of such great size being doubtful; but its size, beauty, and costly setting rendered it an object of admiration. The fame of the wonderful table induced Tarif to seek it as a fit present for the caliph, and having secured it, he marched back to Toledo to await the arrival of Muza.

That general, on his way from Merida, had despatched his son Abdulàsis to Seville, to punish the inhabitants for an insurrection against the Moorish governor whom he had placed there. The young chief was victorious, and, for the first time since the entrance of the Arabs into Spain, by his father's express desire a city was given up to the fury of the soldiers. But Abdulasis soon put a stop to the havoc they were committing, and led them to farther conquests in the south of Spain.

Muza pursued his road to Toledo, and as he went he was astonished at the excellent construc-

Digitized by Google

tion of the highways, and at the grandeur of the bridges and the towers that the Romans had left in the country, and bewailed the destruction that the Gothic times had brought on many towns and villages, whose ruins he passed by.

At Talavera he met Tarif, who had come out from Toledo to meet him, and brought with him such a portion of the spoil, taken in Spain by his troops, as was appointed for the commander in chief of a Mussulman army. Muza appeared satisfied at the moment, but when they reached Toledo he demanded the table of Solomon, and all the other precious things which Tarif had reserved as presents to the caliph. The table was accordingly given up, but with only three hundred and fifty-nine legs, the three hundred and sixtieth being missing. The moment Muza was possessed of the treasures, he upbraided Tarif for disobedience of orders, sentenced him, in the name of the caliph, to degradation and imprisonment, and then thanked the other chiefs for their services. All remained silent but Tarif, who replied, "My lord, what I did was for the service of God and the caliph: my conscience acquits me of evil, and I trust my sovereign will do the same; to his justice I appeal." Notwithstanding this appeal, Muza persisted in degrading him, and appointed Muguez to fill his place. That general, however, expressed his reluctance to supersede so great a commander, and one too who was his friend; but the unfortunate

Digitized by Google

Tarif was thrown into a loathsome dungeon, where he endured great hardships, and where Muza had resolved he should perish.

Meantime Abdulasis had reached Murcia; he was accompanied by four noble Arabs, his own and his father's friends, and followed by a gallant body of the bravest of the Arab tribes. They were opposed by Theodomir, a noble Goth, whom the Moorish writers call Tadmir, whose prudence and valour long protracted the campaign. In Orihuela, where his men had almost all perished in defending the walls, he caused the women to dress in their dead husbands' clothes, and to appear in their places, and then sent to Abdulasis to propose terms of submission. Theodomir himself went to the Arab's tent disguised among the messengers. The following is a copy of the original treaty between them:

"*Writing and covenant of peace between Abdulasis ben Muza ben Noseir, and Theodomir of the Goths, king of the Land of Tadmir* *.

"In the name of the most merciful God.—Abdulasis and Tadmir make this covenant of peace, which may God confirm and protect; that Theodomir, and no other Christian, shall have the command of his principality; that there shall not be war between them, nor shall they take captive each

* Murcia and Carthagena.

Digitized by Google

other's wives or children; that the Christians shall not be molested in their religion, nor shall their churches be destroyed, nor shall other services or obligations be imposed beyond those herein contained. That this covenant shall likewise extend to the seven towns of Orihuela, Valentola, Alicant, Mala, Bosara, Ota, and Lorca; that he shall not receive our enemies, nor fail in his fidelity, nor conceal any hostile design which he may learn; that he and each of his nobles shall pay every year one piece of gold, four measures of wheat, four of barley, four of wine, four of vinegar, four of honey, and four of oil; and that the vassals shall pay one half of the like tax. Written on the 4th of Regib, in the year of the Hegira ninety-four.

"(Witnesses) OTHMAN BEN ABI ABDA,
NABIB BEN ABI OBEIDA.
EDRIS BEN MAICERA.
ABULCASIM EL MEZELI."

Satisfied with the conditions, and pleased with the behaviour of Abdulasis, Theodomir now threw off his disguise, and the Arab, charmed in his turn with the confidence of the Christian prince, treated him with great honour, and they ate together as if they had been friends from their childhood. Then Theodomir returned to the city, and disposed every thing to receive his new friend the next day. At dawn the gates of the city were thrown open, and Theodomir with his choicest followers, both horse

Digitized by Google

and foot, went out to meet Abdulasis and his friends. When they entered the city and saw how few men it contained, they marvelled, and inquired of Theodomir where those soldiers were whom they had seen on the walls. The prince then explained his stratagem, which pleased the Arabs well, and they remained feasting with the Christian prince three days, without permitting the soldiers to enter the town, or commit any damage in the fields. Abdulasis then took leave, and marched towards the Sierra Seguro. Bazta, Aexi, Jaen, Elvira, Anticania, Malaga, and Garnata immediately submitted; the latter town belonged to the Jews, and was one of the most flourishing in that part of Spain.

While Abdulasis was thus engaged, his father had sent messengers to Damascus to inform the caliph of the progress he had made in the conquest of the Peninsula, and of the great riches he had found there. His letters were full of accusations against Tarif, on account of insubordination and want of reverence for orders issued in the name of the caliph. These might have been fatal to Tarif, but for the friendship of a relation of the caliph, who happened to be at Toledo at the time of Tarif's imprisonment, and who wrote letters favourable to the injured general. The caliph in consequence wrote into Spain, commending both chiefs for their exertions in the cause of the faith, and giving orders that Tarif should be reinstated in the full command of that portion of the army he had so success-

Digitized by Google

fully led into the Peninsula. Accordingly, on the very day the caliph's letters reached Toledo, Tarif was taken out of his dungeon, publicly reinstated in his command, and the two chiefs ate together in public, in sign of their restored friendship. After the feast, however, they wisely separated: Tarif proceeding to the conquest of the eastern provinces, and Muza passing through the mountains to Sentica and Salmantica, where he found no resistance, hurried through the country as far as Astorga, and then followed the course of the Duero upwards towards its source, and joined Tarif, who was engaged in the siege of Zaragoza.

Most of the nobles of Catalonia had taken refuge in that city, and had conveyed their families and property thither, as to a place of safety. The defence of the place was consequently obstinate; and on its reduction it was more heavily taxed than any other town had been; indeed, in order to pay the contribution required by Muza, the women were obliged to give up their jewels, many of the churches were stripped of their ornaments, and the noblest of the youth were taken as hostages.

Hanax ben Abdalla Assemanni, a noble Arab of the tribe of Koreish, was appointed governor, and he applied himself to promote the interest of the people, and to repair the damages caused by the siege. He built a splendid palace and a magnificent mosque, besides fountains and baths for the convenience of the townspeople; and, like most of

Digitized by Google

the Arab chiefs of that age, he was a great encourager of learning.

After the fall of Zaragoza, Gerona, Barcelona, Tarragona, Ampurias, and the lesser towns were easily reduced, and Muza led his Moors across the Pyrenees and into Septimania, where he took Narbonne, and conceived hopes of realizing his favourite project of carrying Mahometanism over the whole Western Empire. The riches he amassed in his progress were immense; in the church of Santa Maria in Narbonne he found seven silver equestrian statues, and the other towns were proportionably rich: but the soldiers complained that Muza, unlike the generous Tarif, retained the largest portion of the spoil; and these complaints were quickly and secretly conveyed to the court at Damascus.

Meanwhile Tarif had followed the course of the Ebro, secured Valencia and the other towns in the neighbourhood, and, after reserving a fifth of all the plunder for the caliph, divided the rest equally with his companions in arms. This generosity was considered by Muza as a reproach to him, and he wrote to the caliph, again complaining that Tarif, by his condescension to the soldiers, subverted the discipline of the army.

The consequence of these repeated complaints was, that the caliph summoned both chiefs to answer the charges brought against them at Damascus; but Muza was permitted to leave his son,

Digitized by Google

Abdulasis, as commander-in-chief in Spain, and his other son, Abdalla, was confirmed in the government of Mauritania.

Tarif immediately obeyed the caliph's orders, and repaired to court; but Muza awaited a second message, and arrived but just in time to see Walid before his death, and to present him with the treasures he had accumulated. The famous emerald table was among these, and Walid, inquiring where the missing leg was, Muza answered that it was lost before he took it from the Christians; but Tarif, who was present, produced the golden leg, and the duplicity of Muza was exposed, while the services of Tarif were acknowledged by his dying sovereign. Suleiman, the successor of Walid, however, suffered both these chiefs, whose valour had added to his dominions a province richer than all belonging to his crown before, to live in utter oblivion; and their deaths would have been as little noticed as the latter part of their lives, but for one tragic event which hastened that of Muza. But before we relate that sad story, we must return to the affairs of Spain.

After the departure of his father, Abdulasis continued the conquest of the Peninsula; but his mild temper and humane conduct reconciled all classes of people, and the steadiness with which equal justice was administered in the early times of the Arab conquests made many converts to the Mahometan faith. On the young chief's return

Digitized by Google

from his expedition to the south, he inspected the prisoners and slaves of the commander-in-chief's household, and then for the first time saw the queen Egilona or Ayela. She sat apart from the rest weeping. He approached her and said, "O fair woman, why do you weep? who are you?"—"Ah!" she replied, "I have cause to weep. I was once the queen of all the land and all the cities of Spain. All around me obeyed me. And now I am a captive and a slave:" and then she began to weep anew. "Lady," said the prince, "you are still a queen and mistress of every thing in this palace and of me. Command, and you will find yourself obeyed."—"It is that which grieves me most," said Ayela. "I am in the power of one who is an enemy to my faith, and who mocks me with the name of queen and mistress, when he may soon teach me that I am but a miserable slave. But know, sir, that I will die before I will suffer any indignity unbecoming the Christian queen of the Goths." Abdulasiz assured her anew of his respect, and offered her his hand in marriage; promising that he would have no other wife, though allowed others by his religion, and assuring her, for herself and people, of the free exercise of her religion. On these terms Egilona consented to marry the young Arab, and their nuptials were celebrated with great splendour at Seville. Abdulasiz scrupulously observed all his promises to the queen; he was, however, permitted to enjoy his happiness

Digitized by Google

but for a short period. His first expedition after his marriage was into Lusitania, where he collected a considerable treasure, and commissioned ten of his officers to convey it to Damascus.

On their arrival they found the new caliph Sulieman exceedingly indisposed towards the family of Muza, notwithstanding their great services. He therefore chose eight of the officers sent by Abdulasiz with the treasure to carry back a commission for the death of all Muza's sons, and they were but too obedient to his commands.

Abdulasiz was absent from Seville when the order for his death arrived: and when it was communicated to the chiefs, they were so sensible of the love borne him by the soldiers and the common people, that they dared not attack him openly at once. They therefore began to spread reports injurious to him; they whispered that his love for his Christian wife was likely to make him abandon Mahometanism; they asserted that she had persuaded him to wear a crown like the Gothic monarchs. and to take on him the title of king; and these stories, that were only inventions to serve a purpose at the time, have been repeated in grave histories, and the unhappy Egilona has been accused as the cause of her husband's death. When the conspirators (for the ministers who planned and carried on such a scheme deserve no better name) found that these reports had produced the intended effect, and had excited distrust and jealousy of the

Digitized by Google

chief among the troops, they followed him to a private mosque, where he was in the habit of praying daily, at his country house, a few miles from Seville, and there fell upon him; and having stabbed him as he knelt, they cut off his head, displayed it in the market-place, and read the caliph's order for his execution.

The head was then prepared with salt and camphor, and sent to Damascus. Muza was present when it was delivered to Sulieman, who, uncovering it, showed it to the unhappy father, and asked him if he knew it. "Well do I know it," said he, turning aside his head, "and may the curses of Heaven light on him who has slain a better man than himself!" So saying, he went out, and retired to Mecca, where he died of a broken heart for the death of his son.

On the death of Abdulasiz, his uncle or his cousin, Ayoub, succeeded to the title of amir and the government of Spain. Neglecting the Christians who had taken refuge in the mountains of Gallicia, he followed up the plans of Muza, and led his troops into the south of France, where they found richer spoils than they could hope for in the bare mountains of the north and west of Spain.

Meantime the Gothic nobles began to recover from the stupor which seems to have possessed them after the battle of the Guadalete. In the year 718 they assembled in the valley of Cangas or Canica, and choosing Don Pelayo, the cousin of Don Roderic, as their king, they raised an army

Digitized by Google

for the defence of Christianity, and, taking advantage of the absence of the Mussulman amir, marched towards the settlements of the Moors, which they continually harassed, and in some instances entirely broke up. The head-quarters of Pelayo was a great cavern in the mountain Ausena, called Covadonga; there he laid up stores of provisions and arms, and thence he made several attacks on the enemy so successfully, that at length the amir sent a considerable body of troops, under a chief called Alcama, to endeavour to dispossess him of Covadonga. The policy of the Mussulmans in Spain, however, was to destroy as few of the natives as possible, and, above all, to win over as many of the nobles as they could. For this purpose they forced the archbishop Oppas to accompany Alcama to the mountains, in hopes that by his intercession terms might be entered into with Pelayo as well as with Theodomir. But the king resolutely refused to listen to any proposals from the enemies of his faith and the invaders of his country, and a bloody battle was fought, in which Alcama was killed, and Oppas was taken prisoner. No sooner was the traitor prelate in the power of his offended countryman than he was put to death, and his name condemned to that disgrace which ought always to follow the man who betrays his native land. As to his nephews, the sons of Witiza, disappointed in not receiving the kingdom from the hands of the Arabs, they had repaired to Damascus, where they entreated the caliph to settle

Digitized by Google

upon them at least the patrimonial estates of their father. Walid, who then reigned, granted their petition, and bestowed equal favour on count Julian. The loss of the battle of Covadonga was unjustly attributed to these noblemen, who were suspected by the Arabs of a second treason, and great part of their estates were accordingly taken from them by the amir. Little more is recorded of them in history except that the daughter of one of Witiza's sons, going to Damascus to claim restitution of her father's property, which her uncle had unjustly seized, married an Arab chief.

While the Christians were beginning to rise from the state of utter ruin into which they had fallen, the caliph Suleiman died in the flower of his youth and beauty, and was succeeded by Omar ben Abdulasiz, grandson of the great Omar. He was beloved by his subjects, but died too soon to do all the good they had expected from his merciful and generous temper. His successor was Jezid ben Abdelmalic, by whom Ayoub, who had governed the affairs of Spain irreproachably, was considered as too nearly allied to the house of Muza; he was therefore displaced, and Alhaûr put in his stead. Alhaûr, though a brave leader in the field, was yet detested by his own people as well as by the enemy, for his harshness and cruelty: therefore, as there was a quick communication with the caliph's court, by means of several light ships, under the command of Ajax ben Xerahil, the peo-

Digitized by Google

ple of Spain speedily sent a petition to Jezid, complaining of the oppression of Alhaûr, who was instantly removed, and Alsama, a favourite chief, appointed in his place.

Alsama found the greater part of the Moslem troops in the south of France, which Alhaûr had ravaged as far as the banks of the Garonne, and immediately undertook the siege of Thoulouse, which was defended by Eudes, duke of Aquitaine. Alsama was killed in a desperate battle before the city, and the soldiers instantly chose Abderaman, the companion of Alsama, for their chief. He was a man of extraordinary bravery and almost extravagant liberality. Under his short government he kept in awe the whole of the south of France, made incursions beyond the Rhone, repressed several risings of the Christians in Navarre, and won the affections of the soldiers by dividing all that was gained in his expeditions equally with them, after reserving the fifth part, allotted by law to the caliph.

But this liberality was considered by the elder and more severe Mussulmans as tending to corrupt the simple manners of the Arab soldiers. Accordingly a graver chief was appointed; and when the virtuous Ambisa was named, Abderaman was the first to do him honour, and to set the example of subordination by returning without a murmur to the duties of a simple captain.

In the same year died the caliph Jezid of a

Digitized by Google

broken heart, caused by the death of a favourite slave, and was succeeded by his brother Hachem.

While these changes were taking place among the Moslem, Don Pelayo had gradually increased the boundaries of his small kingdom, which at first contained little more than the territory round Oviedo. Leon was now added, but Oviedo continued to be the capital, as more safe from the incursions of the Arabs. It is not quite certain whether he was at this time called king of Oviedo or of Leon, though the foundation of the kingdom of Leon is dated from this period.

The Mahometan part of Spain had fallen into considerable disorder at this time, owing to the absence of the amirs in Gaul, or, as the Arabs called it, Afranc. Ambisa's first care was to reform the abuses that had crept into the administration of justice. He forbade any distinction in matters referred to the judges, between Mahometan, Jew, and Christian. He distributed lands to the Arabs and other new settlers from Mauritania, without giving offence to the Christians; for, as he observed, the wars and the pestilence had left too many estates without masters, and he had besides a great deal of land to dispose of which had been abandoned by the Jews. Just as he was called to the government, an impostor named Zonarus arose in Syria, pretending to be the Messiah, whom the Jews still expect. Multitudes therefore from Spain and Narbonne flocked to the East, abandoning their

Digitized by Google

estates, in full confidence that their kingdom was now come. These estates, therefore, Ambisa bestowed on his followers without offence. He equalised the taxes on the Christians all over Spain, demanding a fifth from the conquered people, and only a tenth from such as yielded voluntarily. He rebuilt the Roman bridge of Cordova, and visited every city to establish divans or seats of justice, and to see that there were fit places of worship for all.

To the great grief of the people, Ambisa was killed in a battle fought on the banks of the Rhone against the Christians, in the year 724. With his dying breath he left the government to his friend Hodeira, who might have carried on his benevolent plans, but he was almost immediately superseded by Yahya, a man so severe that the soldiers soon put Othman in his place, on condition of his leading them against the troops of France.

The caliphs had delegated the protection of Spain to the governors of Egypt: the severe discipline of the first followers of Mahomet had been relaxed in that country by luxury and indolence, and the venality of the chiefs was such that the highest bidder might now purchase the amirship of Spain. Accordingly, Coltum ben Aam, Hodaifa, and Othman ben Neza, succeeded each other so rapidly, that not one had time to distinguish himself. The caliph, hearing of these disorders, thought to remedy them by sending the Syrian Alheitam ben Obeid as amir to Cordova, now the capital of the

Digitized by Google

peninsula. His tyranny was, however, so great, that the caliph sent Muhammad, a grave and virtuous prince, from Damascus, to inquire into his conduct, which was found to have been so scandalous, that he was deprived of his command, and exposed to the derision of the people of Cordova riding on an ass. He was then sent under a sufficient guard to Africa, and his goods were confiscated, and employed as far as possible in making restitution to those he had injured.

Muhammad remained two months in Spain, and chose Abderaman, the favourite of the people, for the new amir. His coming and going were attended with blessings: such are the rewards of good governors.

The only man who murmured at the elevation of Abderaman was Othman ben Abi Neza, called in the Christian chronicles Munuza. This man was brave and hardy, and had assembled a small body of Arabs like himself, with whom he lived in a sort of independence among the mountains on the frontiers of France. In one of his inroads into that country he had taken prisoner a daughter of Eudes duke of Aquitaine, and becoming desperately enamoured of her, married her, and purchased the consent of her father by engaging not to invade his dominions, and to assist him against all enemies. He consequently rebelled against Abderaman, who marched from Cordova, and surprised him at a town in the Pyrenees so unexpectedly, that he

Digitized by Google

had scarcely time to escape from it with his family at one gate, before the soldiers of the amir entered at another. He was traced from the walls to a narrow valley surrounded by sharp rocks, which shaded it from the sun. There, by the side of a clear fountain, stretched on the soft grass, lay the daughter of Eudes, overcome with fatigue, and Munuza, who prized her more than life, was tenderly waiting on her. His people heard the sound of the coming soldiers, and escaped; but he was surrounded and taken as he was bearing his beloved captive to some place of concealment, and died endeavouring to defend her.

The young princess was respectfully conveyed to Abderaman, who sent her to the caliph at Damascus. It is believed that she became his wife, and was the mother of some of the princes of the house of Omeya.

Abderaman then proceeded to the banks of the Rhone. He took Arles, passed the Garonne and the Dordogne, defeated Eudes, took Perigord, Saintonge, Poitou, and Sens, also Lyons and Besançon, and was about to attack Tours when he heard of the mighty army that Charles Martel, mayor of the palace to the king of France, was leading against him, to arrest, if possible, the progress of the Mahometan arms, which seemed about to overspread the whole empire of the West. The country had been wasted far and wide, and the memory of the invasion of the Moors was long pre-

Digitized by Google

served by traditions which have been the groundwork of many of the romances of chivalry, and of some of the most delightful of the Italian and Spanish poems.

The Arab writers say, that the troops of Abderaman, flushed with their past successes, had become careless and lax in their discipline; and that he, too late aware of the evil, trusted to the fortune of the Mahometans and the terrors of the Christians.

The armies met between Tours and Poitiers. For six days the battle was carried on with equal obstinacy on both sides. At length Abderaman, pierced by the lances of the enemy, fell, and his people instantly gave way. Favoured by night, they retired from the field of battle, and retreated, harassed by the continued attacks of the Franks, to Narbonne. There they were besieged by Charles, who was, however, forced to retreat, having saved France, and earned the surname of Martel, or the Hammer, from the irresistible blows he is said to have given the Moors on the day of the fight near Poitiers, A. D. 733.

After the death of Abderaman, Abdelmelic ben Cotan was appointed amir of Spain. His government was so unfortunate that the superstitious people imagined an evil genius presided over him, and accordingly he made way for Ocba, whose whole attention was occupied in framing such internal regulations as should insure the prosperity

Digitized by Google

of the country. His first act was to establish a vigorous police, whose officers, called kashefs, were to be accountable for any disorders that should take place in their districts. He founded schools for the Mahometans, and encouraged those of the Christians and Jews. He built several mosques, and settled annual salaries upon learned men to teach the law and preach to the people. Having thus spent nearly four years, he restored the government to Abdelmelic and returned to his former government in Africa, where his presence was required, in the year 737.

In the same year died Don Pelayo, who, like Ocba, had been endeavouring to establish the internal government of his small kingdom. He was succeeded by his son Favila, a hardy knight, but not much beloved by his people. He was fond of the chase, and having one day pursued a bear into a defile, the animal turned upon him and killed him, in the second year of his reign. His wife was Donna Froiluba, of whom we know nothing, but that her daughter by Favila was grandmother to one of the wives of Charlemagne. Ermisenda, the sister of Favila, had married her cousin, Don Alonzo the Goth, and the assembled nobles chose Alonzo to succeed his brother-in-law, as being a man capable of protecting the kingdom from foreign attacks, and whose wisdom might be relied on in the domestic government.

The activity of Charles Martel required all the

Digitized by Google

vigilance of the amir of Spain on the frontier; and the bad fortune of Abdelmelic had seemed to revive, when Ocba returned from Africa and fixed his abode at Cordova. His presence preserved the public tranquillity for a time; but his death, in 742, gave room for the introduction of many abuses, and the rise of many parties.

The caliphs of Damascus had been declining in power and influence. The death of Hachem made way for Waled ben Jezd; and he, in his turn, was followed by Jezd ben Waled, to whom his brother Ibrahim succeeded in the same year: he retained the caliphat but a few months, and made way for his cousin Meruan, in whose defence he was shortly afterwards killed in Syria by the rival party of the Abbassides, the descendants of Abbas, one of the companions of Mahomet; and Meruan himself fell shortly afterwards in Egypt in defence of his throne. Thus ended the reign of the Omeiad caliphs in the East. They were succeeded by the Abassides; but from this period Spain ceased to be dependent on the throne of the Oriental caliphs. One of the princes of the house of Omeiah, however, escaped from the general massacre of his relations, and founded a kingdom at Cordova, which rivaled the thrones of the East in splendour: but before we relate his history, we must return to that of Spain under Abdelmelic.

The disturbances in the East had been the signal for a revolt among the Berbers, and other African

Digitized by Google

tribes, each of which, when overcome, retreated to Spain as to a ground where there was room for all, and where each chief might hope to gain the government of the whole. Baleg and Thalaba led the way, and a civil war succeeded, which continued for two years; and in the course of which the amir Abdelmelic was murdered, and Baleg killed in battle. A fresh invasion of fifteen hundred Mogrebin, and other Arabs, now arrived to harass the country; but, fortunately, the character of their amir Husâm was of a kind to tranquillise the people and to establish peace. With this view, he settled each of the Arab tribes, which had accompanied him, in situations as nearly resembling those of their native provinces as possible: the natives of Damascus he placed at Elvira, and gave the lands of Medina-Sidonia and Algeziras to those of Palestine, and so of the rest; that they might have homes, and not wander over the country as robbers and oppressors.

These measures, however, gave discontent to many, and principally to Samail, the chief of the Egyptian Moors in Spain. At the head of these he marched against the amir and his Arabs, or Yemenees, and, after sustaining an obstinate siege, Husâm was slain in a sally he made from Cordova. Various other captains now arose to assert the independence of the different cities, and the whole country was one scene of confusion. At length the Arab sheiks, taking compassion on the people,

Digitized by Google

resolved to elect a single chief, whom they should all obey. One of the conditions of their choice was, that he should never have been at the head of any faction.

The election fell on Yusuf of Fehri, of the tribe of Koreish, and of the family of one of the original conquerors of Spain. He was a mild and virtuous man, esteemed by both Mahometans and Christians, and the choice gave universal satisfaction. But the evils of the civil war were too deeply rooted to be ended by the exertions of any chief, however meritorious, as long as the seat of government was at a distance, and his rivals could hope to remove him by appealing to a superior. Hence Yusuf, however deservedly popular, was soon opposed. Amer ben Amru rose against him—cities were taken and lost —the common people oppressed—and every evil seemed to increase with time.

The elder Arab chiefs now met again to consult on the steps it might be possible to take, to remedy the growing ills. Without consulting either of the rival governors, they agreed, as they could not be ignorant of what had passed in the East and in Egypt, that as governments independent of the caliphat had been formed, it would be most conducive to the general tranquillity if they could establish an independent kingdom in Spain, and place at its head some chief whose birth should claim respect, but who had never taken part in any of the disputes which had agitated the country. On

Digitized by Google

this Wahib ben Zahir arose, and said, that such a chief was now to be found on the borders of the desert, in the tents of the Zenetes. Abdulrahman ben Moavia had escaped from the banks of the Euphrates, where his infant son and his brother were murdered by the emissaries of Abdallah Abulabas. He was of the family of the Omeiahs, the true caliphs, and his character and qualities promised every thing they could wish as a sovereign. The assembly agreed to send messengers to Africa to invite him. They were instructed to pass, disguised as merchants, through the dominions of the amir of Tangier, who had declared in favour of the Abassides. They performed their journey in safety, and found Abdulrahman with the sheiks of Zenete, at Tahart.

Temam ben Alcama, one of the messengers, addressed the prince, offering him, in the name of all the Moslem in Spain, and especially in that of the sheiks of the tribes of Arabia, Syria, and Egypt, not an asylum, for that they knew he had already in the tents of the noble Zenetes, but the empire of Spain. The hearts of the people, said the messenger, were already his; and they were ready to combat, nay, if requisite, to die, in order to place him on the throne, and maintain him there.

Abdulrahman considered a few minutes, and then replied, "Illustrious captains! ambassadors of the Moslem of Spain! For your good, and to comply with your desires, I will go with you; I will fight

Digitized by Google

in your cause; and if the Lord assists me, and approves of the obedience you tender to me, you shall find in me a brother and companion, in peril as in prosperity. Neither labour nor adversity alarms me, nor do I dread battle or death; for few as have been my years, inconstant Fortune has taught me many times to despise life, and has placed every horrid image of death before me; and since such, as you say, is the wish of the honourable Moslem of Spain, I am content, God willing, to be your leader and defender."

The envoys were well pleased with this answer, and took occasion to represent to the prince the consequence of keeping his determination secret. Abdulrahman answered, that he must, at any rate, communicate his affairs to his benefactors, the sheiks of the Zenetes; and that, in so doing, there was no hazard: he accordingly communicated the matter to his host. The old sheik bade him go on in God's name, and gave him five hundred horse to accompany him. The tribe of Mecnasa gave him two hundred, the sheik of Tahart fifty, and a hundred lances. All the youth of the tribe would willingly have gone with him, and when he departed, there were friendly tears shed in the tents of the Zenetes.

With his arrival in Spain a new period of the Moorish history of the country begins; and before we go on to it, we must return to the affairs of the Christians.

Digitized by Google

Alonzo I., surnamed the Catholic, had succeeded Favila, the son of Pelayo: very few authentic records of his reign remain; but it is certain that the boundaries of his kingdom were enlarged during the civil wars of his enemies. He received the surname of the Catholic, in consequence of his diligence in repairing the churches injured or defiled by the Mahometans, and his zeal in re-converting and re-baptizing such of his subjects as had been forced or persuaded to embrace the faith of the conquerors. He died at Cangas, in the 75th year of his age and the 19th of his reign, A. D. 757, and was buried, with his wife Emesinda, in the monastery of Santa Maria, with great pomp. He left four children by his wife; Froila, who succeeded him, Bimanaro, Aurelius, and Adosinda: and by a Moorish woman one son, Mauregat, who came, in the sequel, to the throne of Leon.

After the death of the great Eudes, or Eudon, duke of Aquitaine, his three sons divided his dominions. Aynar had that part of Spain bordering on Navarre, and added to it Jaca, whence he expelled the Moors, and thus prepared the foundation of the kingdom of Arragon.

The other two sons of Eudes, who had divided his estates in France, were deprived of them by Charles Martel. To revenge this injury, they invited some of the Moorish chiefs from Spain to take part with them, and by their assistance ravaged the country as far as Avignon; but the conduct of

Digitized by Google

Charles Martel soon remedied the evil, and, taking advantage of their internal disturbances, he drove the Arabs back beyond the Pyrenees, and annexed the provinces of Septimania to France.



Helmets, Arms, &c.

Nothing could be more wretched than the state of Spain during this period. The people, wasted by pestilence and famine during the latter part of the reign of Roderic, were now farther oppressed by foreign conquerors, whose habits, language, and faith differed from their own. The nobles were either killed with their king, or wretched exiles among the savage mountains of Gallicia and the Asturias, and the country was so wasted, that the conquerors themselves, as they marched through it,

Digitized by Google

lamented over the unpeopled villages and ruined towns.

To remedy the latter ill, the amirs called over from Mauritania colonies of the agricultural Arabs, and of the Jews, in whose hands was most of the commerce of that part of the world. These settlers very much improved the state of Spain, but still the civil wars retarded the benefit that might have arisen from the judicious measures of the new government.

The Arabs brought with them into Spain great simplicity and sobriety of manners; but at the same time a taste for magnificence and elegance in their buildings and gardens. Their women seldom went abroad, and when they did so they were closely veiled; but they were not then so secluded as the Mahometan women are at present, nor were they by any means illiterate. They were uniformly treated with great respect, and even on the taking of a city, the Arab chiefs always protected the women from wrong or insult.

They considered skill in poetry not only as a mark of a liberal education, but as an accomplishment necessary to complete the character of a knight: and the amir Husâm owed the government of Spain to some ingenious verses which had pleased the caliph. Music was a favourite amusement among the young Arabs, though the elder sheiks were jealous of its approach to sensual pleasure. The guitar was brought by them into the

Digitized by Google

Peninsula, and it is believed that the national Spanish airs, as well as the rhymes and measures of their beautiful ballads, are derived from the Arab conquerors.

The painting and sculpture which represent animated beings were considered by them as transgressions against the commands of the Decalogue; but nothing can exceed the beauty of their fanciful architectural decorations, or the delicacy of their sculpture when employed on tracery and foliage.

They were great lovers of the chase, and bestowed much pains on improving their horses and dogs. The horses, indeed, were so honoured, that their genealogy was preserved as carefully as those of the chiefs themselves. And Casiri mentions an Arabic manuscript in the Escurial, containing an account of the most celebrated horses in the world.

Dogs were abhorred, excepting those for the chase and watch-dogs; and of other animals the swine was not only disliked, but his flesh was prohibited, and in general all quadrupeds with claws, such as the hare, are rejected as food by the Mahometans.

The dress of the Arabs of that day was nearly the same as it is now. They wore wide trousers, and a loose coat, with a thick sash round the waist, and a turban. In war they used both chain and scale armour, and lined their turbans with steel caps, and sometimes used helmets. Their arms consisted usually of a long lance, a scymitar, a

Digitized by Google

crooked sword, a dagger, and a round shield, made of hide, the best of which were manufactured in Africa; and until they established the manufactory of swords at Toledo, the best scymitars were procured from Mauritania. Some of the tribes used a straight sword instead of the scymitar, and others continued the use of the bow and arrow.

The different tribes were distinguished in the field by pennons of different colours. The tribe of Ali used green, the Omeiades white, and the house of Abbas black flags; other families were distinguished by other colours, or mixture of colours, or sometimes devices of various kinds, either borne on their flags or painted on their shields.

Among the Christians little refinement can be expected in an age of such extreme misery; accordingly we find the Arab writers reproaching them with filthiness in all their habits. They are called rough and rude men, who do not wash themselves, and who think not of changing their clothes till they are so ragged that they drop off themselves. The French are praised by the same writers for trimming their hair and beards, and washing their hands at least. The Arabs themselves were accustomed to indulge in luxurious baths; besides their religion enjoined them to perform various ablutions every day: hence they were particularly offended by a want of cleanliness.

As to the geographical division of Spain during this period, the Christians were confined to a very

Digitized by Google

small portion in the north-west. The rest of the country was divided by the last amir, Yusuf el Fahri, into five provinces, as follows: the Arab names are retained here.

Andalucia; Tolaitola (or Toledo); Merida; Saracosta (Zaragoza); and Narbona.

The principal cities in Andalucia are set down as Cordoba, Esbilia, Carmona, Egija, Talica, M. Sidonia, Arcos, Libla, Malaga, Elbira, Jayen, Arjona, Castolona, Alturja, Cabra, Bulcona, Astaba, Ossona, and other smaller places.

The chief towns of Tolaitola were, Tolaitola, Ubeda, Bayeza, Monteya, Wadiacix, Basta, Murcia, Bocastra, Mula, Lorca, Auriola, Elixe, Xatiba, Denia, Lucante, Cartagena, Valencia, Valeria, Segovia, Segobrica, Ercabica, Guadilaxara, Secunda, Ocxima, Colonnia, Cauca, Balancia, and others.

Merida comprehended the west country beyond the Guadiana. Its chief places were, Merida, Beja, Baracara, Dumio, Alisbona, Portocale, Jude, Auria, Luco, Astorica, Samora, Iria, Vetica, Ossobona, Egitania, Colimbiria, Beseo, Lamico, Caliabria, Salamantica, Abela, Elbora, Jabora, and Cauria.

The province of Saracosta, formerly Celtiberia, contained Saracusta, Tarracona, Gerunda, Barcelona, Egara, Ampurias, Ansona, Urgelo, Lerida, Tortusa, Huesca, Tutila, Anca, Calahorra, Bambolona, Taragona, Barbastar, Acoscante, Amaya, Jacca, Segia, and others.

The fifth province, which lies in France, con-

Digitized by Google

tains Narbona, Nemanso, Carcasona, Caucoliberi, Betieras, Agada, Macalona, Lotuba, Elena, and others.

Yusuf caused the people to be numbered, and each village so connected with some principal town as to be under the inspection of magistrates. He allotted a third part of the taxes to the maintenance of the mosques, council-houses, prisons, roads, and bridges, and increased the number of kaschefs, or police-men, throughout the kingdom.

Names of Caliphs of the East, to whom Spain was subject.

Walid ben Abdelmelic ben Meruan.
Suleiman ben Abdelmelic.
Omar ben Abdulasiz.
Jezid ben Abdelmelic.
Hachem ben Abdelmelic.
Walid ben Jezid.
Jezid ben Walid.
Ibrahim ben Walid.
Meruan ben Muhammad ben Meruan.

Amirs of Spain, from the Conquest to Yusuf el Fahri.

Taric ben Zeyad el Sadfi.
Muza ben Noseir el Becri.
Abdulasiz ben Muza.
Ayub ben Habib.
Alhaûr ben Abderaman.
Alsama ben Malic.
Ambisa ben Johim.
Hodeira ben Abdala.
Yahye ben Salema.

Digitized by Google

Hodeifa ben Alhaûs.
Otman ben Abi Neza.
Alhaitam ben Obeid.
Muhammad ben Abdàlla.
Abderaman ben Abdalla el Gafekí.
Abdelmelic ben Cotan.
Ocba ben Alhagag.
Abdelmelic ben Cotan, a second time.
Baleg ben Baxir.
Thalaba ben Salema.
Husâm ben Dhirar el Kelebi.
Thueba ben Salema.
Yusuf ben Abderaman el Fehri.



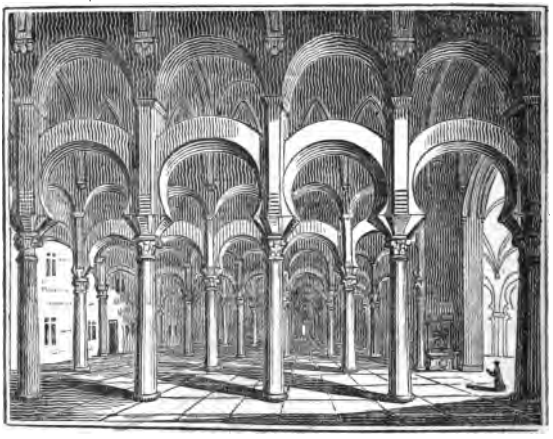
Moorish warrior on foot.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE REIGN OF ABDULRAHMAN I. TO THE ACCESSION OF ABDULRAHMAN II.

[From A. D. 756 to A. D. 820.]



Mosque of Cordova.

FROM the general slaughter of the Omeiad princes of Damascus by the first Abasside caliph, one youth escaped. This was Abdulrahman ben Moavia ben Hachem ben Abdulmelic ben Meroan. He was in his twenty-first year, and was rarely endowed with qualities both of mind and body. He, with his brother and son, were living on the banks of the Euphrates, when the emissaries of

Digitized by Google

Alabas were sent to put them to death, at the time of the murder of their fifty cousins. Abdulrahman happened to be absent on a visit to Zeituno, and so escaped the fate of his child and brother. His friends provided him with horses, and with jewels for his expenses, and he fled from the country by bye-paths, knowing that there was no safety for him in cities and walled towns, to the deserts of Egypt; and there did he, a prince accustomed to live delicately, dwell with the Bedouins and shepherds of the tents, and learn to live like them. Insecure even there, he went into Barca, where the governor, Aben Habib, owed every thing to his family; but he found that Habib had set a price upon his head, as the best means of obtaining the favour of the new caliph. He, however, traversed the country unhurt. His youth, his gentleness, a certain majesty which shone out in his eyes, and his affability gained all hearts. One night the Arabs of a village where he had taken shelter were awakened by the troops of Habib, who were in search of Abdulrahman. By the description of the man they sought, the Arabs knew it must be their guest; for the rules of hospitality among them required that they should not ask a stranger's name until he had rested, and they, therefore, knew not till then whom they had received; but they answered, that they had indeed seen him, that he was with their young men hunting the lion, and that his path was in a certain valley. The troops rode

Digitized by Google

off in pursuit, and his hosts instantly awoke him, and sent him with six of their stoutest youths across the desert towards a place of safety. They rode on over plains of sand, often listening to the roar of the desert lion, and after some days arrived at Tahart, where they were generously received.

Here Abdulrahman neither concealed his birth nor his misfortunes. His mother Raha was descended from the tribe of the Zanetes at Tahart, and the eldest sheik was her kinsman. Into his tent, therefore, was Abdulrahman received, and all the people of Tahart assembled to do him honour, and to show hospitality to the youths his conductors.

Here it was that the messengers from Spain found him, and here, before his departure, he entered into that alliance with the Zanetes which lasted while there were any princes of his race to occupy the throne of Spain. On taking leave, the ancient sheik said to him, "My son! since God calls thee to this work, doubt not to follow it with valour, and rely on us to help thee; for, in truth, the honour of thy house and family cannot be upheld without the horseman and the spear."

Under these auspices, and with this blessing, Abdulrahman went to Spain, and about the middle of August, 755, he landed at Almunecar with six thousand Arab horsemen, mostly of the Zanetes. The principal chiefs of Andalusia were assembled to meet him, and as soon as he landed, took his

Digitized by Google

hands, and swore to be obedient to him. The people had assembled in crowds, and cried out, "God favour Abdulrahman ben Moavia, king of Spain!" The noise of his coming soon spread abroad, and in a very few days all the principal Mahometans, especially the youth, declared for him.

The beauty of his person, heightened by the pleasure of the cordial reception he met with, prepossessed the people in his favour. He was tall, and of a noble and beautiful aspect, fair and ruddy; he had large and very animated blue eyes, and his manners were very gentle and graceful. In a few days he was at the head of twenty thousand men, mostly from Elvira, Almeria, Malaga, Arcos, and Medina Sidonia. As he approached Seville, the whole of the inhabitants, headed by their magistrates, came out to meet him. He was proclaimed there with every demonstration of joy, and received the deputies from the other cities, who had come thither to make their submission.

Nothing could exceed the dismay of the amir Yusuf on learning the arrival of Abdulrahman. He had declared himself in favour of the Abasside, and the presence of the last of the Omeiads in Spain under such circumstances assured him he had little to hope but from the chance of war; and accordingly he made every disposition that prudence could suggest to arrest the progress of the young caliph. But his army was soon driven out of Cor-

Digitized by Google

dova, and Abdulrahman marched towards Merida; but, trusting to his good fortune, he left Cordova without a sufficient garrison, so that Yusuf retook it by surprise. This misfortune was soon repaired; Merida surrendered; Yusuf, hopeless of success, submitted to the conqueror, who permitted him to keep his fortune, and to reside in Toledo at his favourite house, with his family, in a private station.

Thus within a year were all the civil disturbances quieted, and the various chiefs of Syria, Arabia, and Egypt amicably settled under a caliph of their choice, whose high descent admitted of no rivalry or competition for the supreme power.

The year 756 was a happy one for the caliph. No enemy, foreign or domestic, arose to disturb the tranquillity of the country; and in the spring, his wife Howara, whom he loved extremely, bore him a son in Cordova. The birth of the young prince, who was named Hachem, was celebrated with feasting of all ranks, and distribution of alms in all the cities in the kingdom.

Abdulrahman visited the principal cities, and gave orders for the building and repairing mosques and other public works. In Cordova he built a fine alhama, or place where the divan or council should meet, and the cadis administer justice, provided with prisons for ordinary culprits. He repaired the ancient Roman roads, and built a palace and a garden called the Rusafa, near the city, on the banks of the river. In the garden he col-

Digitized by Google

lected many beautiful flowers and trees, and among the rest a palm tree, the first that was seen in Spain; and one of his great pleasures was to sit in the great tower in the midst of the garden, and contemplate the palm, which reminded him of his native land. It was to this palm that he addressed the verses, which were soon in the mouths of the people.

Thou too art here, my noble palm,
In stranger singleness;
The kisses of the western wind
Thy eastern pride caress.

Thy root is in a fruitful soil,
Thy head thou rear'st to heav'n.
But bitter tears like me thou 'dst weep,
Were feeling to thee giv'n.

But no! thou canst not feel, as I,
The adverse Fates' control.
Ah me! unceasing floods of grief
O'erwhelm my troubled soul.

I watered with my tears the palms
That by Euphrates rose;—
The palms and restless streams are now
Forgetful of my woes,

When driv'n by unrelenting Fate,
And Alabas I left,
All this torn bosom held most dear,
Of my soul's treasures reft!

To *thee* of my lov'd native land
No fond remembrance clings,
I cannot cease to think, and still
The tear unbidden springs.

Digitized by Google

Early in the following year, Moavia ben Salihi, the friend of Abdulrahman, returned from a mission to Syria, where he had collected many friends of the house of Omeya, who had fled from the severities of Alabas into Irac and Egypt. This virtuous and learned man was placed by Abdulrahman at the head of the law in Spain, by the title of the Cadi of Cadies of Cordova, and the seat of government was finally established in that city.

The fourth year of Abdulrahman's reign was disturbed by the rebellion of the late amir Yusuf el Fehri, who, unable to bear a private station, resolved on making at least one struggle to regain the government. He was speedily defeated at Lorca, and died of his wounds. One of his sons and his friend Samail shared his fate.

In the beginning of the next year a slight disturbance in Seville forced the caliph to take the field; but the chiefs being given up by the townspeople, he passed on towards Beja in Portugal, then in the hands of the Christians.

At this time Froila I., son of Alonzo the Catholic, reigned in Gallicia. He had enlarged and fortified Oviedo, and erected it into a bishop's see; he strengthened the walls of the frontier towns, and lost no occasion of securing and extending the limits of his little kingdom. One of the first acts of his reign was to hold a council of bishops, to purge the Gallician church from heresy and the contamination of Mahometanism, and at that council

Digitized by Google

strictly forbade the marriage of priests, which a law of Witiza had permitted. These precautions were very necessary, as the Mahometans were indefatigably zealous in endeavouring to draw over the Christians to their faith, and intermarriages between the sects had become common.

Froila had no sooner heard of Abdulrahman's approach to Beja than he marched to its relief; and as the caliph had received notice that Toledo was in a state of insurrection under Hachem el Fehri, the near relation of Yusuf, he left the Christians in peace, and went towards Toledo. At his approach Hachem submitted, and was forgiven; but no sooner had Abdulrahman returned to Cordova than he rebelled anew, and being driven from Toledo, was taken in Seville, with the rest of the principal conspirators.

The caliph remained some time at Seville; and to conciliate the inhabitants, he built a garden palace and tower, and made public walks, and, above all, planted palm-trees, as he had done at Cordova.

On the caliph's return to his capital, he received letters from the Zanete chiefs of Tahart, warning him that the Abasside caliph, Abu Giaffar Almanzor, was about to send an army into Spain to expel him, and to reduce the country once more to the obedience of the eastern caliphs.

Abdulrahman was not therefore quite unprepared when Alla ben Mogueis, the lieutenant of Almanzor, landed on the coast of Algarve with his

Digitized by Google

Syrian troops. The fate of the invader was soon decided. His army, disgusted at his severity, diminished hourly, and in a few days his head, preserved in salt and camphor, was sent to Mecca by a trusty Cordovan, who nailed it on the palace-gates during the night; and when Almanzor saw it in the morning, as he passed out to the mosque, he blessed himself that the sea was between him and so formidable a foe.

A momentary insurrection in Seville was all that disturbed the tranquillity of Mahometan Spain for some years after this event; but the Christian portion of the country was far from enjoying equal quiet.

Aznar, the son of the great Eudes of Aquitaine, was at continual war with king Froila. On one occasion Froila had captured the daughter of Aznar, named Nuna Menina, whose beauty induced him to make peace with her father on condition of receiving her hand in marriage. The wedding was scarcely celebrated and peace confirmed, before Froila, suspecting his brother Bimanaro of conspiring against him, murdered him with his own hand, and his death was revenged by their other brothers, who put Froila to death in the eleventh year of his reign. His brother Orelio or Aurelius succeeded, and did nothing either in peace or war worthy of record during the six years he sat on the throne.

Ten years after the invasion of Spain by Al-

Digitized by Google

manzor's troops, Abdul Gafir Meknesi, a pretended descendant of Fatima, the daughter of Mahomet, collected a great body of Moors and Arabs, and sailed from Africa with a considerable force to invade Spain. Some of his vessels were met near the coast by the governor of Tarragona and Tortosa, with the ships belonging to those ports, and taken or sunk; but Meknesi himself effected a landing, and was immediately joined by a band of outlaws who had long infested the mountains. Ased el Xebeni opposed his advance into the country, but was unfortunately so severely wounded in the first battle that he died. His loss was greatly lamented by Abdulrahman, as he was the best engineer belonging to his army. He was director of the public works, and had planned the new fortifications of Granada. His place was, however, supplied by Abdul Salem, the Syrian, who, with his twelve sons, had accompanied the caliph in his exile and subsequent successes.

Some reinforcements arrived from Africa. Toledo, always disposed to change, took the part of the stranger; and by the assistance of the mountain robbers Meknesi had gained Seville. The siege of that place was distinguished by a tragical event. The commander-in-chief of the army before it was Abdelmelic, the caliph's cousin. On one occasion, when Abdelmelic had been wounded in battle, the caliph, seeing an enemy about to kill him, had interposed, and at his own risk saved his kinsman.

Digitized by Google

On this account Abdelmelic was more than commonly devoted to his sovereign and zealous in his cause. Of his many sons Cassim was the youngest able to bear arms, and was exceedingly beautiful. He had placed this youth at the head of a body of horsemen, and sent them to observe the enemy. They were suddenly surprised by a very superior force, and the youth, panic-struck, turned his horse, and galloped back to his father's camp. Abdelmelic, seized with shame and rage, cried to him, "Die, coward! thou art no Meruan—no son of mine!" So saying, he hurled his lance at him, and transfixed the youth, who fell dead at once among the horror-struck soldiers; and the father, ordering them to remove the body from his sight, led them into action and to victory. But though severely wounded, he survived to mourn for his child; nor could all the affectionate soothings of the caliph, who loved him, nor all the honours he could bestow on him, console him.

Meknesi was killed about this time on the banks of the Xenil near Egija, where the Zanete cavalry routed his people; and the governor of Elvira, cutting off his head, sent it to Cordova.

The caliph immediately repaired to Seville to visit Abdelmelic, whose wounds, though dangerous, were nothing compared to his grief: he brought him back with him to Cordova, where he assembled all the chiefs who had been engaged in the war, and distributed honours and rewards to all. Some

Digitized by Google

he made governors of provinces, and to some he gave valuable horses, jewels, or splendid robes. He appointed Abdelmelic governor of Zaragoza, and of all the eastern part of Spain. To his prime minister, or Hagib, Temam ben Alcama, he gave the charge of visiting the sea-ports, and causing vessels to be built at Tortosa, Tarragona, Oksonoba, Carthagena, Almeria, Almunecar, Algesiras, Cadiz, and Huelba, and appointed him admiral of the kingdom.

However successful Abdulrahman's government had been within Spain, he had lost, with Narbonne, the last hold the Mahometans had of Septemania; and one of his motives for placing Abdelmelic at Zaragoza was, that being near the French frontier, he might be ready to resist any incursions of the Franks, the fame of whose emperor, Charlemagne, was now beginning to fill the western world.

To Charlemagne the Christians of Spain had turned their hopes of liberation from the Mahometan dominion; and king Silo, the brother-in-law of Don Orelio, is said to have proposed to do homage to France for the crown of Spain, provided the emperor would assist him to drive out the Moors. The discontented Moors also had recourse to Charlemagne, and at a meeting of the nobles at Paderborn, Husam el Abdari, the late wali, or governor of Zaragoza, complained to him of the injustice of Abdulrahman in superseding him.

Charlemagne was happy to find an occasion to

Digitized by Google

invade the territories of Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees, ravaged the country of the Moors as far as the gates of Zaragoza, and sent some troops to the westward; but instead of assisting Silo, they appear to have robbed him, and to have committed such disorders in the territory of the king of Navarre, that he, in resentment, armed against them; and when the emperor retreated across the Pyrenees, without reinstating the Wali of Zaragoza, and in dread of the Mussulman army that was pursuing him, the Navarrese fell upon the rear of his army in that valley of Roncesvalles, which was then rendered famous by the defeat of Charlemagne, and the death of his nephew Orlando, the hero of many a romantic song and tale. It is said, that having the post of honour, in a retreat, the care of the rear of the army, Orlando had agreed that in case of any great emergency he should blow his horn, and that at the sound Charlemagne should return to his assistance. The knight, unwilling to give such a sign of weakness, delayed the signal, till it was useless, and the emperor only arrived in time to see his favourite nephew and bravest champion expire, and to reproach him for having blown the "horn too late in Roncesvalles."

The Franks returned from their disastrous expedition, without even the spoil which they had seized in the towns of Catalonia; the king of Navarre plundering them of all their baggage after the Arabs had dispersed their army.

Digitized by Google

In the mean time Abdulrahman had been attending to the internal regulation of the country, and, what was of especial importance to it, to the education of his sons. To exercise them in the science of government, he sent the eldest, Suleiman, as governor, to Toledo, under the conduct of the counsellor Muza ben Hodeira, in whom he placed great confidence. His second son, Abdalla, was intrusted with the care of Merida, under his governor, Abdelgiaffir, whose father had been brought up with the caliph.

Abdulrahman visited all the towns to the south and westward himself, and finding them all established according to his wishes, he resolved to build, in Cordova, a mosque, which might surpass not only that of Damascus, but the newly erected one of Bagdad, a city built by the Abasside caliphs, who would not reside where the Omeiads had held their court, and which might equal in sanctity the Alaksa, or holy house of Mecca, and the sacred place at Jerusalem.

His next care was to provide for the prosperity of the country after his death; and as he was satisfied that the qualities of his son Hachem surpassed those of all his eight brothers, he declared him his successor, and caused all his nobles to swear allegiance to him. After this ceremony he set out with the prince to visit the principal places of the kingdom; but at Merida he was taken ill, and died

Digitized by Google

in the year 788, to the grief of his subjects of all classes, having reigned thirty-three years.

Abdulrahman was brave, skilful, and successful in war; but he preferred peace. The laws of the Mahometans being contained in their sacred book, the Koran, and its commentaries, he was not permitted to make new laws. But the careful administration of the old, and the private regulations he made for the various cities of Spain, deserve praise. He encouraged letters, and honoured learned men; and when the great cadi Moavia died, Abdulrahman himself pronounced his funeral oration. The caliph was an orator and poet, he was fond of assembling men of learning and wit in his palace, and early taught his children to admire and respect them. He is believed to have studied architecture, and to have planned the great mosque at Cordova himself. He was fond of the chase, especially of fowling, and was very careful in the training of his hawks. He was of a cheerful and affectionate temper, and seldom moved to anger. At times he is said to have withdrawn to the solitude of his gardens, and wept over the remembrance of his country and the lost friends of his youth. He was buried with great pomp at Merida, and his son Hachem pronounced his funeral oration; but, says his historian, he was more honoured by the tears of his people.

We must now attend, for a while, to the affairs

Digitized by Google

of the Christian kings of Leon and Gallicia, where a disputed succession kept the country in a state of civil war. The aged Silo had been elected king in right of his wife Adosenda, the sister of Froila, but feeling himself incapable of contending at once against the incursions of the Moors and the encroachment of the kings of Navarre and the counts of Castile, he had sought the protection of Charlemagne; but the emperor's disaster at Roncesvalles had taught Silo that foreign aid is often most dangerous. The French troops had levied contributions and afforded no protection; and no one but the common enemy profited by the coming in of the strangers. Silo next caused Alonzo, the son of Froila, to be crowned as his associate in the kingdom; and at Silo's death the people were disposed to confirm his choice, and acknowledge Alonzo as their king; but Mauregat, the natural son of Alonzo I., having secured a strong party in the kingdom, seized the crown, and reigned for five years, during which he endeavoured to preserve peace with the Moors. This conduct has drawn on him the censures of most of the Christian historians, who have added to the tribute in money and goods, and the fifty horses, which he consented to pay to Abdulrahman, a tax of fifty noble damsels yearly, to be sent as wives or slaves to the Mussulman court; but the Arab chronicles take no notice of this unnatural convention.

On the death of Mauregat in 788, the nobles,

Digitized by Google

whose business it was to elect the king, would have desired to choose Alonzo the colleague of Silo, but he was still in concealment in Cantabria; and Don Bermudo, his uncle, commonly called the Deacon, because in early life he had taken orders, was called from his convent to the throne. He married Ozenda Nunilona, a noble Spanish lady, but soon divorced her, on its being represented to him, that having once taken orders, it was unlawful to marry. He was fond of letters, and preferred the peace of his conventual retreat to the court; therefore, after little more than two years' reign, he resigned in favour of Alphonso II., surnamed the *Chaste*, and the *Victorious*. He was a man of prudence and vigour, and, partly by treating with the neighbouring kings, partly by action in the field, maintained his kingdom entire, at a time when the Mahometans were united under able kings, and eager for conquest. We shall find him engaged with the Moors both in peace and war, and will therefore return to the successor of Abdulrahman.

Hachem was 33 years old at the time of his father's death. His person was handsome, his mind highly accomplished, his deportment grave, and his character may be judged of by the epithets his subjects bestowed on him—the JUST, the MERCIFUL.

As soon as he had performed the last duty to Abdulrahman, by pronouncing his funeral oration in the principal mosque in Merida, the nobles rode through the town, proclaiming him caliph, and the

Digitized by Google

khotba or prayer appointed to be said for the commander of the faithful, for so the Mussulmans style themselves, was read in all the mosques. Hachem then proceeded to Cordova, where he found that his two elder brothers had been disputing their father's will, and claiming the caliphat. He, however, dissembled, and treated them as if he had never heard of their proceedings, trusting that by forbearance and kindness he should reconcile them to his authority. However, they shortly rose in arms against him, each claiming a right to reign independently, at least in the separate governments to which their father had appointed them. Their forces were speedily overcome, and Hachem, anxious for conciliation, seized the first instant when it was possible to gain Abdalla, who was nearest to himself in age and character. On his submission he assigned him a royal residence near Toledo, revenues to support the state of a prince, and treated him in all things as a brother. Suleiman held out longer, and his partisans were of a more obstinate or dangerous character; therefore Hachem made conditions with him that he should settle in Africa, and receive an equivalent for the estates he should give up in Spain. The price settled on was seventy thousand mitcales or pesantes of gold.

These things settled, Hachem caused the algiheb or sacred war against the enemies of the Mahometan faith to be proclaimed throughout the kingdom, and preached in all the mosques. The Moors and

Digitized by Google

Arabs immediately flocked to the frontiers. Gerona, which was in the hands of the counts of Barcelona, was taken, Narbonne shared the same fate; the slaughter was horrible. The north of Spain was overrun, many prisoners were made, and an immense booty taken. The various passes of the Pyrenees were forced, and incursions were made into France, such as had not been since the time of Charles Martel.

His duty as a Mussulman thus performed, Hachem returned to the peaceful employment he best loved. He finished the great mosque begun by his father, and built a new bridge at Cordova. The architect Farked ben Aun el Aduani, a native of Cordova, built at the caliph's command the beautiful fountain called Ain Farked. He erected and endowed several schools for Arabic, and patronised the men of learning and physicians among the Jews; but discouraged the use of Latin. He was fond of astronomy; and nothing can better show the elevation of his mind, in an age and among a nation of superstition, than his utter contempt for astrology. He was fond of gardens, and cultivated flowers with his own hands. We owe to him the introduction of many shrubs and flowers from the East, and he caused the choicest kinds of fruit-trees to be imported and planted in all parts of his dominions. He loved poetry, and even composed some verses for music, which the minstrels long after his time recommended for their delicacy.

Digitized by Google

His reign was short. Early in the sixth year after his accession, feeling himself indisposed, he assembled the chief men of the state, caused them to swear fidelity to his son Alhakem, and died shortly afterwards, in the year 796, when Alonzo the Second was king of Leon.

On his death-bed he called for Alhakem, who was only twenty-two years of age, very comely, and possessed of good talents; but subject to more violent starts of temper than the Mahometans think consistent with dignity, and addressed him as follows: "My son, lay up in thy heart the counsels that my love for thee now dictates; consider that kingdoms are of God, who can take them away when he pleases. Since, then, God has given us regal power and authority of his divine bounty, let us pay him thanks for the gift, and do his holy will, which is no other than that we should do good to all men, and especially to those intrusted to our protection. Do equal justice to rich and poor, and never permit oppression, for it is the road to perdition. At the same time, be gracious to such as depend on thee, for we are all the creatures of God. Trust the government of thy provinces and cities only to men of approved virtue. Chastise, without mercy, such ministers as shall oppress thy people with useless and arbitrary taxes. Govern thy troops with gentleness and firmness, when thou art obliged to take up arms, and let them be the defenders, not the spoilers of thy state; and for this end see that

Digitized by Google

they be punctually paid, and thy promises to them kept. Never neglect to cultivate the good will of thy people, for in their love consists the security of the state; their fear is dangerous; their hatred certain ruin. Watch over the labourers who till the soil, and procure us necessary sustenance; permit not their corn-fields or orchards to be trodden down. In short, conduct thyself so as that thy people may bless thee, and live content under the shadow of thy protection, and enjoy in quiet the sweets of life. In this consists good government, and if thou doest thus, thou shalt be happy, and earn the reputation of the most glorious prince on earth."

Having said this, the caliph expired, in the fortieth year of his age. He was followed to the grave by an immense concourse of people, and Alhakem pronounced his funeral oration; after which he was proclaimed caliph, and the khotba was read for him in all the mosques.

He chose for his hagib or confidential minister Abdulkerim, with whom he had been educated, and who was the son of his father's friend. He had been his librarian from his youth, and this choice of a minister confirmed the hopes the people entertained from the careful education and happy dispositions of the young caliph.

No sooner was the death of Hachem known, than his brothers, Suleiman and Abdalla, claimed the throne; and Suleiman, coming over from Africa, joined Abdalla at Toledo, which they made their

Digitized by Google

head quarters, and collected all the discontented, and all who were fond of novelty, around them. Alhakem immediately marched from Cordova to besiege the place, but was obliged to divide his force on account of an inroad of the French on the northern frontier, leaving the siege to be carried on by one of his officers, and marched himself towards the borders, whence he soon drove the French, and followed them even to Narbonne. He then returned to Toledo. In an obstinate battle near the place, Suleiman was killed; and when the dead body was brought to the young caliph, its likeness to his father affected him even to tears, and he caused it to be honourably buried. Abdalla soon after submitted, and his nephew received him with kindness and respect, requiring only that two of his sons should be sent to his court as hostages. The day the youths arrived he adopted them as brothers, bestowed places of honour and trust upon them, and gave his sister Alkinzah in marriage to Esfâh, the eldest.

This whole reign was occupied in a kind of partisan warfare on the frontiers of France, and with the kings of Leon and counts of Castile, excepting a short peace with Alfonso II., king of Leon.

The hasty temper of the caliph often involved him in disputes with the governors of his provinces, with his people, and even with individuals. Of the latter kind was that with a poor widow, who

Digitized by Google

being required to sell her patrimony, that the caliph might erect a pavilion on the site of the cottage of her fathers, refused. The place was taken by force, and the pavilion erected. The poor woman complained to the cadi, who told her to have patience, and he would try to obtain justice. He accordingly went to the caliph on the first day when he was enjoying the garden and pavilion, driving an ass before him with an empty sack. On approaching Alhakem, he begged permission to fill the sack with earth at that spot: leave being granted, he requested the caliph to help him to place the sack on the ass. Alhakem, willing to humour the cadi, tried, but found the load too heavy; "Oh, caliph!" then said the judge, "if thou canst not bear this load, how wilt thou endure the weight of the whole field at the day of judgment, when the poor widow thou hast robbed shall reclaim it of thee?" The caliph instantly restored the land, and the widow was enriched by the magnificent pavilion and furniture which were given to her.

On another occasion, Alhakem had listened too easily to a false accusation against his cousin Esfâh, governor of Merida, and had thereby nearly caused a civil war; but his sister Alkinza, whom he loved tenderly, and who was the wife of Esfâh, went out of the city on horseback, attended only by her personal servants, and traversing the camp of Alhakem, threw herself at his feet, and having

Digitized by Google

prevailed on him to listen to the truth, he immediately became reconciled to her husband, and endeavoured by new favours to compenstate for his injustice.

Happy would it have been for him had he always had so discreet a friend as Alkinza; but being enraged on some occasion with the inhabitants of Toledo, he expressed a hasty wish for vengeance before Amru, the wali or governor of that place. That bad man waited his time; and on occasion of a public rejoicing, when the prince Abdulrahman, who was much beloved, passed through the city, he invited all the nobles to a feast, and then seized and threw them into a dungeon, where they were murdered to the number of four hundred, and the whole city was struck with horror at the sight of the heads, which were exposed next morning at the palace gates.

In a conspiracy in Cordova, real or suspected, on account of new and exorbitant taxes, an equal number were sacrificed; but the last of Alhakem's excesses was fatal to himself.

He had for some time, to avoid irritation, withdrawn from public cares, and the charge of government had devolved on his son Abdulrahman, whose amiable qualities had won the affections of the people. In the year 815 Alhakem assembled his nobles, and caused them to swear fidelity to Abdulrahman, as wali alhodi, or heir apparent. The two first sheiks that took the oath were Esfâh and

Digitized by Google

Casim, his cousins; afterwards the hadjib; then the cadi of cadies; after whom came the other persons of note in their order.

A few days after this ceremony there was a mob collected in one of the public squares in opposition to some new duty on the importation of merchandise, for the purpose of maintaining the extraordinary palace guard, which the caliph had raised to 3000 Andalusian Musarabs, and 2000 Sclavonians, besides others of the household. Ten of the ringleaders were taken, and Alhakem himself condemned them to be impaled.

On the day of execution, when a crowd was collected, as usual on such occasions, it happened that a soldier wounded a citizen accidentally. The people instantly fell upon him; he fled to the palace, where the first guard attempted in vain to protect him. The caliph instantly rode out at the head of the whole body of guards, and trampled down the populace. They fled to the arrabal, or suburb. He followed, and gave the soldiers unlimited license to plunder and massacre for three days, then banished the survivors, and burned the arrabal.

The fugitives, in number twenty thousand, fled to the coast of Africa. Eight thousand found a home in the new city of Fez, which Edris ben Edris was building on a field two miles from the Zebu, which he had bought for 6000 adarhames from the Zuaga and Yasgo tribes, among whom were

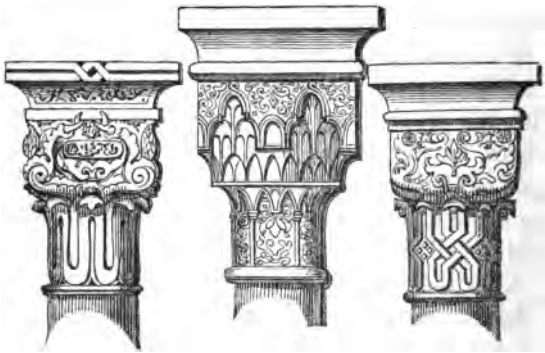
Digitized by Google

Christians, Jews, and fire-worshippers, but very few Mussulmans. The other twelve thousand made their way along the coast to Alexandria, which they forcibly entered; but receiving a considerable sum from the people, they retired and sailed for Crete, where, having burned their ships, they founded the town of Candax; and their memory is preserved in the name of Candia, which has superseded its classical appellation.

After the day of the destruction of the arrabal, Alhakem never enjoyed an hour's repose. Neither the delights of his garden, nor the poetry and music which used to charm him, could now soothe his mind. Afflicted with a calenture, he continually fancied he saw men fighting around him, and would call his servants to stop the slaughter. At length, full of horror, he expired, in the year 820, leaving nineteen sons and twenty-one daughters.

Alhakem came to the crown with the happiest prospects. With every talent and every quality that might have secured his own glory and the happiness of his people, his want of a proper control over his temper rendered them miserable, and degraded himself.

Digitized by Google



Moorish ornamental capitals.

The establishment of the Omeiad caliphs in Spain changed and softened the manners of the inhabitants. The remains of Roman civilization that had survived the Gothic conquest, and the civil wars of the various Gothic kings, had quite disappeared under the latter amirs. The personal character of Abdulasiz was gentle and conciliatory; and the first years of the new dominion had not been so oppressive to the people, or so destructive of their comforts, as it became under his successors.

With the Omeiads came a taste for letters and the arts. Magnificence was no longer confined to the mosques and the courts of justice. Palaces, and private houses as luxurious as palaces, arose with their fountains and gardens, and libraries

Digitized by Google

formed at vast expense; the feasts of the great were no longer merely for the grosser purposes of refection, but were accompanied by poetry and music, and the conversation of the learned and the witty. Young men were sent from different cities in Spain to study in the schools of the East, and on their return opened academies in their native towns, where the youth were instructed in Arabic, law, poetry, astronomy, and medicine. Saxato ben Salema, born in Andalusia, was at the head of the public schools in the reign of Hachem. He explained the doctrine and laws of the Koran according to the opinions of the famous doctor Auzei of Damascus, who lived before the Mahometan divines had formed the four independent sects into which they are now divided.

The public schools were attached to the mosques, and those of Cordova, founded by Abdulrahman, were long famous for the liberality of their endowment, the learning of their professors, and the number and quality of the students. Besides schools, there were houses of hospitality belonging to each mosque, where travellers and pilgrims were entertained a certain number of days, and alms distributed to such as needed them.

The hall of justice was generally attached to the mosque, or built very near it. There the heads or elders of the congregation used to meet and deliberate on whatever concerned the internal regula-

Digitized by Google

tion of their city or parish. As the only body of law acknowledged was the Koran, the preachers of the faith were also the administrators of the laws, and the office of judge and priest was united. From a very early age the youths of distinguished families were accustomed to attend the daily tribunal of cadies of reputation, and, with the caliph's permission, as they advanced in years, the council of the state.

The caliphs and the nobles often held assemblies in the evenings, where prizes were given for the best commentary on a text of law, the best poem on a moral subject, or even the best song or tale. At these assemblies the young men learned to speak fluently and precisely, an accomplishment highly valued in all ages by the Arabs.

If we attend to the history of the Mahometans, we shall always see, that on the personal qualities of their chiefs the prosperity of the government and country depended: and such must ever be the case when the form of government is purely despotic, and where there is no class of people with hereditary rights to defend, and laws to secure those rights, to give them power and interest to withstand the will of their sovereign, and to be a barrier between him and the bulk of the people. The noblest of the Arabs only reckoned nobility of birth, but he had no law to defend his property or to secure its transmission to his children. The

Digitized by Google

caliph was the universal heir; and though the precept of the Koran recommends him not to despoil the orphan or oppress the widow, it remained at the will of the caliph to take or not what portion of the inheritance he pleased, or even during the life of a man to seize his lands and his goods.

Hence a Mahometan government must depend on the personal qualities of the sovereign and his delegates for its happiness, and on the army for its security. The power being absolute, there is greater temptation to rebel in order to seize it; and the law being in the hand of one man, unrestrained by the rights of any class of people, personal security being impossible, disturbances in the state must be accompanied with bloodshed.

We are shocked with the number of executions in the reign of Alhakem. Three hundred heads exposed at a palace gate, happily for us, must appear a wicked fiction; but let us remember, that where equal laws do not bind the prince and people, mercy to conspirators must often involve the ruin of the state, and that a despotic government must be a cruel one, whatever the feelings or qualities of individual sovereigns may be.

The excellent qualities of Abdulrahman and Hachem conceal the deformities of the system from us; but the temper of Alhakem, in spite of his many virtues, places it in its true light.

Alhakem was the first to set a guard on his palace gates, and to employ slaves and paid sol-

Digitized by Google

diers in peace. He had a body of trained Sclavonians, who were found faithful and excellent guards, besides the Africans Abdulrahman had brought with him, and whose numbers had been kept up by constant recruits.

Abdulrahman had brought from the East a taste for magnificence and elegance in architecture; and he himself was not only skilful in making plans, but a good workman, and is said to have employed his own hands on the great mosque at Cordova, begun by him and finished by his son. He spent on it more than a hundred thousand double pieces of gold. It was six hundred feet long, and two hundred and fifty wide. It had nineteen aisles from north to south, traversed by thirty-eight from east to west, supported on a thousand and ninety-three columns of marble, beautifully wrought. Nineteen gates of wrought bronze opened to the south, and the middle one was covered with plates of gold. There were nine doors to the east and nine to the west. Its great minaret was too hundred and forty feet in height, surmounted by three gilt balls and a pomegranate of gold. For the evening prayer there were always four thousand six hundred lamps, which consumed twenty-four thousand pounds of oil in the year, and a hundred and twenty pounds of amber and aloes for perfume. The lamp of the mihrab, or secret oratory, was of gold of exquisite workmanship.

Such at its building was the great mosque of

Digitized by Google

Cordova, which I have described particularly, to give an idea of its greatness, and of the taste and magnificence of its builders.

Military architecture was not neglected. The new fortifications of Grenada, the long lines of walls carried over rocks and mountains that still remain, prove how well the Moors understood what was necessary in that department before the invention of gunpowder. Ship-building is said to have been improved by Temâm, to whom Abdulrahman gave the charge of the dock-yards of Spain, though we do not know in what the improvements consisted.

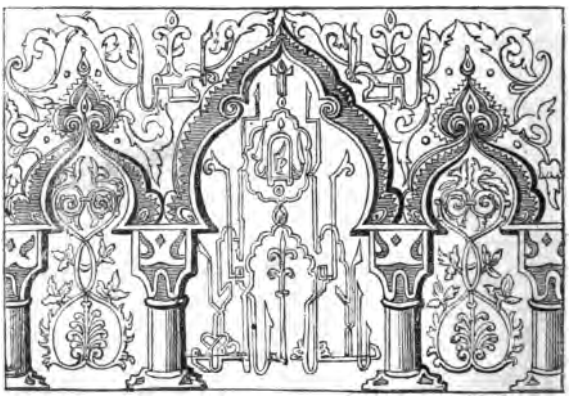
All the ports of the Greek empire were opened to the ships of the Spanish Moors, and they carried on a considerable trade with Africa, Egypt, and Syria, exporting the metals and wool of Spain, and importing manufactured goods.

Agriculture was attended to. Several learned Arabs employed themselves in collecting the precepts of experienced farmers in different parts of the world, and in translating the books of the Greeks and Romans on the subject. To that they joined an account of the management of sheep and cattle, of keeping bees, of pruning and grafting fruit trees, and of raising vegetables and flowers; so that for some centuries Spain was the country in Europe where these useful arts were best understood.

Such was the state of Mahometan Spain under

Digitized by Google

the three first Omeiad caliphs. It was prepared for the splendid reigns of the succeeding monarchs, but it contained within itself the seeds of destruction.



Moorish architecture.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ABDULRAHMAN II., 820, TO THAT OF ABDULRAHMAN III., 913.—93 YEARS.



Tower of Segovia.

On the day of Alhakem's burial, his son Abdulrahman II., called Almodafar for his conquests, was proclaimed in Cordova, and the khotba was read for him, to the great joy of the people. He was thirty-one years old, tall, comely, and of a sallow complexion; his beard grew handsomely, and he was accustomed to dye it black. He was as fierce and intrepid in war as he was benignant and humane in peace; he was the father of the poor and unhappy; he possessed excellent talents and un-

Digitized by Google

common learning; and wrote elegant verses according to every rule of metrical science. He completed the glory of Spain, eclipsed his predecessors in state and magnificence, and augmented his guard by a thousand Africans; but took care to choose them intelligent and humane, and to see that their horses were generous, and their arms of the best quality.

The death of Alhakem was no sooner known, than his uncle Abdalla, the son of Abdulrahman the First, hurried from Tangiers to claim the throne, hoping that his sons would support him. Abdulrahman found him in Valencia, where he laid siege to him, and the sons of Abdalla, so far from joining him, went to entreat him to desist from his ruinous pretensions. They succeeded, and Abdulrahman pardoned the aged rebel; and when he came to him on horseback, led by his two sons, he went out to meet him with the respect due to so aged a relation, and bestowed on him the government of Murcia, where he died two years afterwards, possessed of great wealth, which Abdulrahman granted to his children.

On this occasion, the caliph established as a rule, that children should inherit their father's property, and widows receive a due proportion, with power to dispose of one-third of their goods by will.

Two years after his accession, the new caliph resolved to fulfil his duty, by performing an algi-

Digitized by Google

heb, or war against the unbelievers; he accordingly besieged and took Barcelona, and returned full of glory to Cordova to receive the ambassadors from the emperor Michael the Stammerer, who came from Constantinople to make alliance with the caliph of Spain, offensive and defensive, against the abasside caliph of the East. They brought with them horses of their country, with rich caparisons, such as had never been seen in Spain, as presents. Abdulrahman received them graciously, and when they departed he sent with them the wali, Yahye ben Hakem, a naval officer of great merit and a good poet, to salute the Greek emperor, and present him with some Andalusian horses, and swords forged in Spain, where artificers from Africa had begun to make those blades, which are famous even in our times.

The beginning of the year 824 was spent in a border warfare with the French; the latter part was occupied by a more dangerous enemy.

Mohamad, who during the reign of Alhakem had been receiver of the king's rents in Merida, had been recently deprived of that office. Irritated at the loss of so honourable and profitable a post, he had gone about among the common people of that town, and listened to murmurs which he had probably suggested, against the new collectors, and the general burden of the taxes. He had distributed arms to many in the city, and suddenly surprised the governor, drove him and his guards

Digitized by Google

out of the town, shut the gates, and putting himself at the head of the mob fell on the richer citizens, and plundered them without mercy. Forty thousand lawless armed men ran about the place, committing all manner of excesses, until at length the better sort, and among them some who had at first favoured Mohamad, resolved to deliver the town to the caliph's general Abdulruf, who now lay encamped before the walls. Six youths escaped secretly by night to the caliph's camp, and agreed upon an hour for opening the gates to a party of Abdulruf's soldiers. That general accordingly marched at the appointed time, and in order that as little harm might be done as possible by the entrance of his troops, he commanded, under heavy penalties, that the cavalry who were to scour the streets should touch no one but the armed mob, and that the infantry, whose duty it was to man the walls, should not leave their colours till the word of command was given.

Mohamad escaped to Oviedo, where don Alonzo II. gladly received him, happy to foment the civil disturbances of the Mahometans, and to gain so powerful an ally in the attack he meditated on Abdulrahman.

Abdulruf was made governor of Merida. Besides the evils it had suffered during the rebellion, a cruel famine had laid the country waste for two years, and had forced many families to go into Africa, where there was corn. Abdulruf's first care was to

Digitized by Google

relieve the miseries of the people, and for that end he employed them in public works, and such as would not labour he punished. In a short time the towers and fortifications were repaired and strengthened. Fountains were constructed, water-courses for irrigating the gardens and neighbouring fields were made; and the town might once more be deemed the capital of the west of Spain.

Meantime one of the partisans of Mohamad had entered Toledo, and made himself master of it in defiance of the caliph; but Abdulruf marching from Merida at the head of a considerable body of troops easily subdued him. Mohamad, ever on the watch, hastily collected a force on the frontier, and with some Gallicians, furnished by Alfonso, forcibly entered Merida during the absence of the governor. Abdulrahman himself now marched to drive him out, and as he was anxious to save the town, he caused several arrows to be shot into it, with letters tied to them, promising pardon and rewards to whoever should deliver up the chief rebels. The place consequently soon capitulated, and Mohamad returned to Alfonso, but only to be as ungrateful to that monarch as he had been treacherous to his own.

Having assembled round him a great number of outlaws and other men of bad reputation and habits, principally from Andalusia, he fortified himself in the castle of Santa Cristina, near Lugo, where he had found an asylum, and made predatory excursions in the neighbourhood, robbing the subjects of his

Digitized by Google

benefactor, and wasting his lands. Alonzo's troops soon overcame him, and it was probably one of the exploits of the famous Bernardo de Carpio, to overcome Mohamad, and send his head to Oviedo, as a trophy.

The story of Bernardo de Carpio is characteristic of the manners of the times.

His mother, Ximena, was the sister of king Alonzo, and she had privately married don Sancho Diaz, count of Saldanha, who was not, it seems, of sufficiently high birth to match with the Gothic princess. As soon as the king discovered their marriage he caused the count's eyes to be put out, confined him in a lonely tower, and immured donna Ximena in a convent. Their son he caused to be brought up carefully, under the name of Bernardo Carpio, and as he had no children of his own it was expected he would adopt him as heir to the kingdom, in right of his mother Ximena. The stories related of the prowess of this young knight are only inferior in the marvellous to those of the Cid himself. In every action with the Moors he was victorious, and served don Alonzo with fidelity and zeal. In return for his services, however, he besought the king to liberate his father, now old, and who, being blind, could do no ill in the kingdom. In this reasonable petition he was supported by queen Bertha, but in vain. Alonzo remained inflexible; and Bernardo del Carpio, retiring to the castle of Saldanha, levied war upon the king's sub-

Digitized by Google

jects. The king, offended, named don Ramiro, son of don Bermudo, for his heir, and died at Oviedo in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and the fifty-third of his reign, which had been fortunate: he had extended the limits of his kingdom, and had been enabled by some intervals of peace to turn his attention to the regulation of its internal affairs and the restoring and beautifying his cities. But neither letters nor arts adorned his court, and a degrading superstition bound the king to some of the severest practices of a monk. His memory, however, was honoured; and the choice of his successor was advantageous to his country.

To employ the restless spirit of his subjects, which had been too much incited to domestic rebellion during the latter part of Alhakem's reign to be easily subdued, Abdulrahman had renewed the sacred war about five years before the death of Alonzo. Leon, Gallicia, and Castile, were attacked with very various success; but the inroads into France were almost always successful; and the fleets of the caliph, joined with some ships from Africa, took and plundered Marseilles and its neighbourhood.

While these wars were going on between the Christians and Moors, a new enemy attacked the coasts of Spain.

More than five centuries before the Goths entered Spain, another branch of the same people had made

Digitized by Google

its way to the north of Europe, and driving before it the naked Finns and Celts, had founded new kingdoms in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. But the lands were poor, and incapable of feeding the multitude of men that belonged to them. Many therefore had embarked with their followers, and sought other lands, which they plundered or colonised as circumstances required. The coasts of Britain were the first to suffer from their depredations. The Orkneys and Hebrides, Iceland, and part of Greenland, had been peopled by them; and half a century later the king of France purchased the safety of his capital by ceding to their prince Rollo, Neustria, one of his fairest provinces, since called Normandy.

But those men of the North, who either could not obtain settlements, or who were too much attached to their homes to wish it, often made regular summer cruises in search of plunder, and returned at the beginning of winter to their havens with the spoil of richer lands, to spend the short dark days in luxurious indolence. The wines, the perfumes, the grain, the silks, and the fine linens of the South, furnished the magnificence of the Scandinavian winter feasts.

The leaders of these marine robbers called themselves *sio kings*, or sea kings, and their occupation *sio rofari*. They were called by the rest of Europe Normans and Danes; but the Moorish writers di-

Digitized by Google

stinguish them by the name of Magioge, as coming from the lands of Gog and Magog, or the north of Europe and Asia.

These sea robbers, then, about the year 843, appeared first upon the coast of Gallicia, and having effected a landing at Corunna, wasted the country around, and seemed disposed to make a settlement there. Don Ramirez marched against them in person, and speedily repulsed them, taking several of their ships, and burning many more. At that time the vessels were so small that they lay dry at low water, or were drawn up on the beach after the troops in them had landed.

The next year the Normans appeared in the Tagus with fifty-four ships, robbed Lisbon, wasted the country for thirteen days, and are said by the Arabs to have spared neither women nor children, nor even domestic animals. Driven from thence by the Moorish troops, who assembled from every quarter, they next wasted the coast of Algarve, passed over to Africa, where they ravaged the lands near Ceuta, returned to Cadiz, and Medina Sidonia, which they plundered, and next sailed up the Guadalquiver, and landed near Seville, burning all the villages in the neighbourhood. They were met by such troops as the governor could collect in haste, and after an obstinate and bloody fight of three days they were able to entrench themselves not far from the city, on a height called the Tablada. By this time Abdulrahman had sent a great force to

Digitized by Google

Seville, and had hastily equipped a powerful fleet, which was commanded by his son Jacob Abu Cosa, on which the Normans, without waiting to be attacked, retired to their ships, and sailed once more for Algarve.

The caliph sent immediate assistance to the coast of Lusitania to defend it from the pirates; he himself went into Andalusia for the purpose of repairing the damage done; he rebuilt the walls and strengthened the fortifications of Seville, from which town many of the people had fled to Carmona, in terror of the strangers.

Abdulrahman next increased the number of his ships, and gave the command as before to his son Jacub Abu Cosa, who was already an approved seaman. On this occasion regular couriers for conveying intelligence throughout the kingdom were established, and a post-master appointed, under whose charge were placed the necessary messengers and horses, and to whom it belonged to fix their stations and receive their reports.

The destructive inroad of the Normans was followed by a plague of locusts from Africa, and so great a drought throughout Spain, that men and animals died, and many thousand families emigrated.

On this occasion Abdulrahman excused the taxes of the Jews and Christians, and diminished the general imposts. He employed the poor of every nation in public works, especially in the con-

Digitized by Google

struction of aqueducts and reservoirs to diminish the evils of future droughts, and it was under his inspection that water in leaden pipes was first conveyed to Cordova in such abundance, that every square, every mosque, and every garden was supplied with its fountains. He also first tiled or paved the streets with broad stones, and made a public garden on the banks of the river for the citizens. Nor was Cordova the only city which he thus embellished; wherever there were poor he caused them to be employed. Mosques, public halls, schools, hospitals, and baths, were built, roads and bridges repaired, and the natural calamity, which so prevailed as to prevent the Christians and Moors from war during several years, was changed by the wise and benevolent caliph into a blessing.

In the spring of 850 he assembled all the magnates of his kingdom, and caused them to swear fidelity to his son Muhammad as his future successor. On this occasion all the governors of provinces were feasted sumptuously by the caliph; armour and valuable horses were presented to the chiefs, and the guards were all clothed in splendid raiment. The poor received a large alms, not only in the towns, but in the most remote villages, and all partook of the bounty and shared the pleasures of their caliph.

Two years after this ceremony, Abdulrahman was seized with a mortal and painful illness, but his mind remained tranquil, and even when his

Digitized by Google

strength failed him he showed the same serenity and composure, the same affection and kindness towards his friends and family, and the same love for his people, which had distinguished him during his long reign. At length the measure of his days being full, he died in 852, leaving forty-five sons and forty-one daughters, at sixty-three years of age, having reigned thirty-one years.

Abdulrahman II. was a wise and politic prince, and a great captain. His people were rich and prosperous during his reign, notwithstanding the rebellions that disturbed the early part of it. He loved letters, and, above all, works of philosophy and poetry. Every moment that he could spare from affairs of state he devoted to conversation with learned men or poets. He was passionately fond of music, and having heard of the talents of Ali Zeriab, the master of the famous Ishac Moussoli, the favourite musician of the caliph Haroun Alraschid, he sent into Irac, where Ali Zeriab dwelt, and prevailed on him to fix his abode at Cordova. There, loaded with riches and honours, he formed several scholars, who equalled the greatest masters of the East.

The sweetness and generosity of Abdulrahman's temper was proved, when one of his female slaves, of great beauty, took offence at him, and shutting herself up in her apartment, refused to admit him, and when he sent for her by the governor of the women, she reviled him bitterly, and said she

Digitized by Google

would rather starve than obey. The governor reported the slave's violence, and proposed, as a punishment, to wall up her doors, and allow her to perish for having thus insulted the commander of the faithful. "Do so," said the caliph, "but let the bricks be of silver, and tell her that when she likes to pull down the wall, and take possession of the rubbish, I shall be glad to see her." The silver wall was built, but that very day the pretty slave had removed it, and waited on her master.

Meantime the Christian king of Spain, don Ramirez II., after having beaten back the Normans from his coasts, had been engaged in a series of civil wars. First, count Nepocian, taking advantage of the absence of Ramirez, who was on a short visit to Castile, attempted to seize the crown, but was overcome in battle by Ramirez, and soon afterwards betrayed into the king's hands by two of his own people. A few months afterwards two of the followers of Nepocian raised commotions in other provinces, where, however, they were soon subdued.

The most remarkable event in the reign of Ramirez was the battle of Alvelda. The troops of Abdulrahman had invaded Riona, and had met those of Ramirez, near Alvelda, and for several days the advantage had been on the side of the Moors. At length the king, oppressed with grief and fatigue, fell asleep, when he dreamt that the apostle, St. James, appeared to him in superhuman majesty, and directed him to renew the combat. The

Digitized by Google

king awakening, revealed his vision, gave the signal for the battle, and shouted *Sant Iago!* which has been the war-cry of Spain ever since. The soldiers rushed furiously on the enemy, and believed they saw Sant Iago in front, leading them on, mounted on a white horse, and holding a white banner, with a red cross in his hand.

It is needless to say that the Christians were victorious; they recovered the towns of Alvelda, Clavija, and Calahora.

On this occasion was founded the monastery of Santiago, and to it in perpetuity, from that day, a horseman's share of whatever prizes should be taken from the enemy was assigned, and from every acre of land in Spain a certain portion of corn and wine for its maintenance. The queen Urraca, who was Ramirez's second wife, greatly endowed that monastery; and indeed the people complained that St. James's protection had been more expensive to them than the inroads of the Moors.

Don Ramirez survived this battle six years, and died at Oviedo, 850, leaving, by his first wife, Paterna, a son, Ordonio, who succeeded him, and by his second wife, Urraca, don Garcia, and some others.

Don Ramirez was a great captain, and the temper of the times is more chargeable with certain acts of cruelty committed by him than his individual disposition. On the capture of count Nepocian he caused his eyes to be put out, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment; and not content with

Digitized by Google

putting the rebel Piniolo to death, he caused his seven innocent children to share the same fate. He is a great favourite with the Spanish historians for his victories over the Moors, and on account of the number of churches he built and the monasteries he endowed. But his constant refusal to set at liberty the old blind count of Saldania, notwithstanding the entreaties of the noble knight Bernardo del Carpio, and the services performed by him to the crown of Leon whenever the Moors took the field, is an instance of savage obstinacy for which there can be no apology, as he could claim no near relationship with donna Ximena to account for his cruel perseverance in punishing Saldania for daring to ally himself to the royal house.

Ramirez I. was succeeded by his son Ordonio, of gentle and peaceable dispositions, and a lover of justice, but inclined to superstition. Like his father, he was engaged in continual warfare with the Mahometans; but the history of Muhammad, son of Abdulrahman II., to which we must now return, will best explain the circumstances which attended the new conflicts of the Moors and Christians.

Muhammad Abu Abdalla succeeded his father Abdulrahman, and the khotba was read for him in the year 852. He was thirty years of age, and much beloved by the people for his humanity, justice, and valour.

The first cause that was pleaded before him

Digitized by Google

is too curious and too indicative of the progress learning had made, under the Omeiads in Spain, to be omitted. It arose from a literary quarrel. The hafit* Abu Abderaman Baqui ben Machalad was a native of Andalusia; he had studied under the most celebrated masters of the East in that age, the disciples of Amed ben Muhammad ben Hanbal; he taught in Cordova by the books of Abu Bekir and Abu Hoaiba, his countrymen. Now the congregation of Cordova opposed this doctrine, and petitioned the caliph against the hafit Baqui, representing that the authority of the old books taught in the mosque at Cordova was supported by nearly thirteen hundred doctors, while the exposition of the hafit had only two hundred and eighty-four supporters, among whom there were not more than ten of undoubted authority. Muhammad replied, that he would hear the reasons on each side himself; accordingly the hafit Baqui, and all the elders of the congregation, assembled in the great hall of the palace, and the caliph examined the work of Abu Hoaiba, listened to the exposition of the hafit, and pronounced that it appeared to him that the difference between the two sects only concerned slight and subtil matters, that had nothing to do with the substantial part of the law, nor with the force of respectable tradition;

* Hafit is the title of those sages who preserve in their memory the traditions of the people.

Digitized by Google

that the doctrine of Baqui was sound, and his precepts wholesome. He declared it unjust to interfere with the lectures of the hafit, which were calculated to enlighten the people, who might besides profit by his virtuous example. This judgment had in it the good sense for which Muhammad was remarkable; but had it been otherwise, it would have been decisive; for the caliph, as the representative of Mahomet, is infallible in matters of doctrine.

The first care of Muhammad was to recover those parts of his frontier that the Christians had from time to time gained from his father: he therefore preached the algiheb. The captain Muza ben Zeyad had been so peculiarly unfortunate, that he was suspected of having received bribes from the Christians. He was consequently superseded in the government of Zaragoza, and his son Lobia removed from that of Toledo. These chiefs, irritated at this unjust treatment, committed the treason of which they had been suspected; and having secretly obtained a body of Gallicians from Ordonio, king of Leon, they seized and fortified Toledo, which the caliph and his son Almondhir were unable to reduce until the year 859. On its submission he pardoned the inhabitants, but removed all the officers and magistrates, whether Moslem or Christian, charging their successors strictly to maintain a vigorous police. The next year, the Normans with seventy ships paid another visit to

Digitized by Google

the coasts of Spain and Africa, scarcely less destructive than the first. They wintered on the coast of Spain; and having loaded their ships with every kind of plunder, they sailed into the Western Ocean, after ravaging Mallorca and Menorca with fire and sword. As soon as these marauders had left the coast, Muhammad marched for Gallicia, and penetrated as far as Santiago. He was, however, repulsed and driven back within his own bounds principally by Bernardo del Carpio, who led a body of his own independent followers into the field in defence of the crown of Leon whenever the Moors invaded their land; but at other times he lived in sullen and dangerous independence.

Shortly after this event, Ordonio I. died of the gout in 862, leaving by his wife Nunia, or Munia, five sons, Alonzo, Bermudo, Nunio, Odoario, and Froila. On the accession of Alonzo, Bernardo del Carpio once more endeavoured to obtained his father's freedom; but being again refused, retired to his castle, and thence levied war upon the king, and wasted the land to a great extent. At length he capitulated; but instead of the generous treatment his former services to the state had deserved, he was deprived of every thing he possessed, and died in some foreign country a miserable outcast.

The epithet of Great has been bestowed on the third king of Leon, of the name of Alonzo. Yet the first part of his reign is disgraced by acts of atrocious cruelty.

Digitized by Google

On the death of don Ordonio, don Froila, the son of don Bermudo, was count of Gallicia, and being possessed of great riches, and of the royal house, he took upon him the name of king of Gallicia, and forced Alonzo to take refuge in that part of Biscay called Alava, which was then subject to the kings of Oviedo, the rest being under its own chiefs, descendants of Eudes duke of Aquitaine. Froila was however soon murdered in an insurrection, and Alonzo returned to Oviedo, where he was well received by the people. The usual war between the Moors and Christians next occupied him for a time; until after a more destructive combat than usual on either side, by which, however, no permanent advantage was gained, he concluded a truce with Muhammad for three years.

During this interval of rest from foreign enemies, don Froila, the brother of Alonzo, conspired against him, but being taken, the king caused his eyes to be put out, and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment. Not satisfied with this revenge, Alonzo caused his other three brothers to be seized and deprived of their sight. One, don Bermudo, escaped, and raised a force in Astorga against his cruel brother, but was overcome, and fled to the Moors, under whose protection he lived some years. Meantime a renegado by birth, Omar ben Hafs, known by the name of Hafsun, collected a body of desperate outlaws, of all nations, on the borders of the Pyrenees, and committed great devastation on

Digitized by Google

the lands both of the Moors and Christians; and the truce having expired between Alonzo and Muhammad, the caliph sent his fleets to ravage the coasts of Gallicia, while he marched against Hafsun. The king of Leon now entered into a treaty with the kings of Navarre and France for their mutual defence against the Moors, when Alonzo received in marriage Amelina, afterwards called Ximene, the cousin of the French king, and niece of Sancho king of Navarre.

But now, in addition to the Moorish wars and civil discords of both Moor and Christian, a more severe calamity visited Spain; an extreme drought, which extended all over the south of Europe and the western part of Asia, began. For ten years the heavens scarcely poured down rain enough to maintain life, a dreadful famine and mortality followed, so that one year the temple of the Caaba at Mecca was shut, for there were no pilgrims. A dreadful earthquake, with fierce storms of thunder and lightning, occurred during the time. A thunderbolt fell at Cordova on the carpet whereon the caliph was kneeling at prayers. These things induced Alonzo to send an embassy to the Moorish court, at the head of which was the bishop Dulcidio, to treat for peace, which was easily obtained, and there was no war for two years.

At the end of that period the king of Navarre, with some of the French counts of the south, joined with the rebel Hafsun, collected one of the largest

Digitized by Google

armies that had for some years entered the dominions of the caliphs, and advanced as far as the Ebro. Muhammad immediately marched to meet them. The advanced guard was led by the caliph's eldest son Almondhir, the main body by Muhammad himself, the two wings by those great captains Abdulrûf and Rustam, and the reserve by Abu Seid, a younger son of the caliph. This manner of dividing the army into five is called alchamis, from its fancied resemblance to the five fingers of the hand. The French would have retired on learning the strength of the army that was marching against them, but Muhammad overtook them at Aybar, and there ensued a most sanguinary battle. Hafsun was wounded mortally. The king of Navarre, Garcia Iniguez, was killed, with many of his bravest knights; and the booty taken on the field was considerable, for it was the custom for the knights to adorn their armour with gold and silver, and sometimes even with jewels. The prince Almondhir remained on the frontier till late in the winter, and the caliph returned to Cordova in triumph. The citizens came out to meet and congratulate him, and he made the day of his entrance an occasion to distribute presents and rewards to the chiefs and others who had accompanied him in the campaign.

On the return of his son Almondhir from the neighbourhood of the Pyrenees, as his gallant acts had obtained for him the name of the pillar of the state, the caliph declared him his heir, and caused

Digitized by Google

the oath of fidelity to be taken to him. This ceremony over, the prince returned to the frontier, where Caleb ben Hafsun, having taken on him the title of king, in concert with the French, was creating new disturbances. His general, Abdulhamet, had been unfortunate, and lost a battle at the pass of Hisna Xaris; but happily for himself, being desperately wounded, he fell into the hands of some Christian knights, who, knowing and prizing his valour, paid him every attention and treated him honourably. Almondhir ransomed him at a very high price, and also bought the freedom of his other knights, for he loved them. "But," says the Arab historian, "the greatest events as well as the least, the crumbling of a mountain and the fall of a willow leaf, depend on the divine will. And as it was written on the table of the eternal decrees, in the manner and time that it pleased the Lord, was the death of the caliph Muhammad without any suffering. Amusing himself in the garden of his palace with his nobles and friends, the Lord of Jaen said to him, 'How happy is the condition of monarchs! For them only is life delicious; for other men the world has fewer charms. What pleasant gardens! what magnificent palaces! what pleasures and amusements! But death draws the cord prescribed by the hand of fate and disturbs it all, and the powerful prince falls like the rustic labourer!' 'Yes,' answered Muhammad, 'in appearance the path of kings lies only through aromatic flowers; but the roses have sharp thorns. The death of the

Digitized by Google

creature is the work of the Creator, and the beginning of ineffable happiness to the good. Without death I should not now have been caliph in Spain!' So saying he retired to his apartment and lay down to rest, and the eternal sleep of death fell on him." Almondhir was at the baths of Almeria when his father expired, but he hastened to Cordova in time to perform the funeral service, and then took upon him the government.

Muhammad was by no means inferior in talents and qualities to the other Omeiad princes of Spain. A hardy warrior, and a prudent and indulgent governor, he was both feared and loved. Among his numerous family, for he had a hundred children, thirty-three of whom survived him, he found trusty friends, faithful ministers, and brave generals; yet he does not seem to have given to them more than their acknowledged merits claimed, or to have neglected any man of any rank or family who deserved distinction. His private secretary was his son Abdulmelic, who, as well as his father, possessed the talent of writing elegantly both in prose and verse. He reigned nearly thirty-five years.

The warlike caliph Almondhir reigned but two years, being killed in a skirmish with some of the parties of Caleb, who had kept the kingdom in a ferment from the death of Muhammad. He was beloved by his subjects, who could reproach him but with one injustice, the death of the veteran Hachem, and the imprisonment of his sons, on a

Digitized by Google

suspicion of their having conspired against him in favour of the usurper Caleb ben Hafsun. But he was generally humane, frugal, and warlike, and so little ostentatious that his banner was neither larger nor more adorned than those of other knights in the field.

As soon as the news of his death reached Cordova, the divan met to deliberate on the choice of a successor, when the prince Abdalla arriving from the army, the electors rose, and with one voice proclaimed him caliph. This was in the year 888.

The first act of Abdalla was most agreeable to the people. He released Omar and Hamet, the sons of the unfortunate Hachem put to death by his brother; and not only restored their patrimony, but gave them offices of honour and trust.

The caliph at the time of his accession was very handsome; he was fair, with large blue eyes, an agreeable countenance, of middle stature, well proportioned, lively, and prudent; of good understanding, and considerable learning. He loved and respected his mother Athara beyond all things, and sought his friends in his own family. Even the Christians praised his beneficence and humanity; and indeed he was impartially just to all.

The reign of Abdalla was one of continual warfare. King Alonzo of Leon, wisely conscious of the advantages of quiet, and unhappily occupied by family dissensions, did not disturb the frontier on that side by any inroad of consequence; but

Digitized by Google

the party of Caleb ben Hafsun, reinforced as it was by the assistance of the kings of Navarre and counts of Barcelona, kept the other parts of the kingdom in a ferment. In a battle in Jaen they overcame one of the Moorish generals, and took possession of a considerable territory.

But a deeper affliction came upon Abdalla about the year 890: his eldest and favourite son Muhammad rebelled against him, incited by his brothers, who were jealous of his advancement to the crown, and who all appeared to resent his having given liberty to the sheiks Omar and Hamet, the sons of Hachem.

The conduct of the war against Muhammad was intrusted to his other son Abderaman Mudafar; but it was not till 895 that the rebellious prince, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner along with his uncle Alcassim. He died shortly afterwards, to the great grief of his father, who took his little grandson, the child of Muhammad, then only four years old, and brought it up as his heir.

Meantime the party of Caleb, reinforced by every outlaw and robber in Spain, whether Christian or Mahometan, and several companies from Barbary, invaded the territory of Gallicia. The chief of the frontier sent to warn Alonzo of their approach, assuring him that none of his people, nor those of the caliph, then at peace with the king, were among the invaders who advanced, wasting all before them, to the neighbourhood of Zamora. The Christian forces met them there and totally

Digitized by Google

routed them, killing their chief, Ahmed, and many other principal men. This battle, one of the most glorious for don Alonzo and the Christians, was fought in the year 900. Some of the fanatic Mahometans would have had the caliph march instantly against the Christian king, to revenge the death of so many of the faithful; but despising the clamours of the multitude, Muhammad sent an embassy to Leon to renew his alliance with the Christian king, glad to see his battles fought by his enemies.

But the matter did not end here. Many of the severe Mahometans, thinking that all interest should be subservient to that of the Faith, and that the Moslem blood shed at Zamora required vengeance, agreed with the cadies to withhold the tithes from the caliph, and to omit his name in the khotba, substituting that of Moctesid Billah, caliph of Bagdad; these things were done in Seville at the instigation of prince Alcassim, whose former rebellion the caliph had pardoned.

Alcassim was in consequence privately put to death; but his memory survived in his own poems, which are quoted under his surname of Gurlan. Many celebrated doctors were exiled for this offence, and among the rest the famous Alfaki Zacchariah of Tudela, who spread the fame of his country all over the East. Among others who blamed the caliph's indifference to the fate of the Moslem at Zamora was the noble sheik Suleiman ben Albaga. In his youth he had rebelled against Abdalla, and had been generously pardoned; but

Digitized by Google

on this occasion he wrote a very ingenious and cutting satire against the caliph, designating him as a mule, and severely vituperated the ministers under the name of the Muleteer. Abdalla sent for the author, and said to him: "By Alla! Suleiman, my favours have fallen on ill ground, and scarcely demanded from thee this abuse, or, if thou wilt, this praise, for in thy mouth they are one. I ought now to make thee feel the weight of my wrath, as thou hast profited so little by my former mercy; thou mightest, in truth, in former times praise me as too mild, and now thou mightest have occasion to blame me as cruel; but I will not have it so. Live, and when I command thee thou shalt repeat me thy verses; and as I admire them much, thou shalt have a thousand pieces of money for each; and if thou hadst charged the mule a little more, the cargo had been still more precious." The poet, full of confusion, threw himself at the caliph's feet, and entreated pardon. It was granted, and Suleiman remained faithful.

The prince Almodafar now prosecuted the war against the descendants of Hafsun with greater vigour, since their secret partisans had been discovered, and for the most part banished or won over to the caliph's party by kindness; while others, weary of the insecure state and caprices of the rebel, submitted to the prince and strengthened his armies.

Abdalla meantime was fully occupied with the internal administration of the kingdom, by the re-

Digitized by Google

gulation of his council, where there were for some time violent disputes for precedency, and by the education of his grandson, of whom he was passionately fond. The boy's beauty, sense, and aptitude to learning, charmed him, and he would sit for hours admiring him at his youthful exercises, his studies, or his amusements.

In 911 died the mother of Abdalla, the sultana Athara, whom he had honoured and respected in life, and whose loss he bitterly wept. He built a magnificent sepulchre for her in the palace of the Rusafa, and another close by it for himself, and fell into a profound melancholy after her death. In the first weeks of his grief he wrote some verses which show the state of his mind. They were much admired among the Arabic writers, who praise their elegance. We can only judge of the moral sentiment contained in them. This, then, nine centuries ago, was the melancholy feeling of the caliph Abdalla:

"Hearest thou no sound? Rapidly beat the wings of the fatal messenger who comes to mock thy hopes! Seest thou not that the world itself marches rapidly to its final goal, and that nothing lasts, nothing is fixed? He gives no warnings of his sudden captures, but bends all to his purpose, and leaves no trace of his steps."

From this time his melancholy increased: he lost his sleep and his appetite, and felt that his death approached. He called together his ministers and his nobles, and declared Abdulrahman,

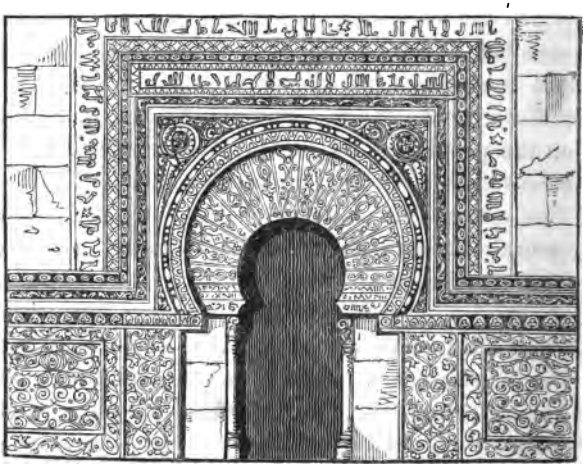
Digitized by Google

the son of his eldest-born Muhammad, his heir, charging his son Almodafar to protect and support the young man as if he were his own child. Having performed this last duty, he died in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, and the seventy-second of his age, in the year 913.

We must now return to the affairs of Alonzo the Great, king of Leon, whose long reign had been on the whole glorious to himself and to the Christian name. The battles of Orbigo, Cillorico, Pancorvo, and Zamora, had taught the Moors to respect him, and the perseverance of Abdalla in the peace with Alonzo had left the latter at leisure to oppose the invasion of the Hafsuns and their allies of Thoulouse, and often of Navarre. He repaired the walls of several towns that the Moorish wars had injured, and built and endowed churches and monasteries, till the royal treasury no longer sufficed for the expense, and new taxes were levied on the people. This furnished a pretence for his eldest son, don Garcia, to rise in arms against him. The queen, Ximena, abetted her son in this unnatural warfare; but his chief supporter was his father-in-law, don Garcia Nunio Hernandez, count of Castile. Don Garcia was taken prisoner; but his mother, brothers, and father-in-law kept up the war for two years. At the end of that time don Alonzo convoked the cortes of the kingdom; and when all the nobles, and among them his rebellious sons, were assembled, he addressed them as follows:

Digitized by Google

"The happiness of my people has been the only object of the labours and exertions of my long reign. My conduct shall continue the same to the last; and since you choose don Garcia for your king, I resign the crown to him, and give the lordship of Gallicia to don Ordonio, and that of Oviedo to don Froila." No one expected such a conclusion; and his sons, with an impulse of compunction, threw themselves at his feet, and entreated him to resume the crown; but in vain. Don Alonzo retired to a private station, and spent the last year of his life in a pilgrimage to Santiago, and an inroad into the Mussulman territory, by his son's permission. He died in 911, leaving don Garcia on the throne.



Gate of Cordova

Digitized by Google

The state of Christian Spain was nearly the same during the last century as it had been in that immediately preceding it. The chief wealth of the country people consisted in cattle. They had no manufactures beyond such domestic ones as were absolutely necessary, and scarcely any commerce. The monasteries continued to preserve some knowledge of letters and civilization; and the warriors, by their frequent intercourse with the Moors, had acquired much of the urbanity and generous courtesy which was at that time the characteristic of the Mahometans. Still, however, their manners were harsh and savage. The constant practice of depriving state prisoners of their eyes, used by the Christians, is scarcely less shocking than the beheading so common among the Moors; and both nations used those prisoners of war, who were too poor to ransom themselves, as slaves. Women appear to have been treated with kindness and respect. According to the Visigothic practice they might succeed to the throne, and the right of a near female relation was often preferred before a more remote male; as in the instances of Ermisenda, whose right of inheritance placed her husband Alonso I. on the throne, after her brother Fafila; and Adosinda, who conveyed the crown to Silo after the death of her brother Froila I.

The state of the Christian church in Spain was such as might be expected in a time of great ignorance, where every means was resorted to by the

Digitized by Google

king and clergy to keep up the zeal of the people, and where every one whose death could be imputed to the Mussulmans, the great enemies of the faith, received the honours of martyrdom at least, if not of canonization. The enthusiastic state of excitement thus produced, led many of the Christians, who lived in the Mahometan part of Spain, purposely to insult the religion of the government in order to obtain the honours of martyrdom; hence a whole chapter of names in Mariana, *sainted* on account of the persecution of Abdulrahman II., who appears only to have let justice take its course against such as wantonly transgressed the common laws. The confirmation of this view of the matter is found in the council held in the year 852 at Cordova, and called *Cordubense*, to which Abdulrahman had called the bishops of Spain, and where they pronounced that it was unlawful to seek martyrdom wilfully, or to honour those as saints who should for that purpose provoke death by transgressing the laws, because nothing but the violence of persecution could justify a man's throwing away his life.

The taste for architecture, which the Moors brought with them, spread into the other parts of Spain: that style which we call Gothic began to be used in the new churches and monasteries built by the kings of Leon. It has sufficient resemblance to the Moorish buildings to show that the architects must have been familiar with their structures;

Digitized by Google

and there is sufficient difference to prove that some other principle guided them in their construction. On the other hand, the great mosque at Cordova gives the idea, that though the architect adhered to his oriental horse-shoe and pointed arches, he adopted the Roman columns and capitals he found in the country, at least as models; for in most of the other Moorish buildings the pillars are thin, and bear very different proportions to the structures raised above them.

The poetry of the Arabs had in it something so pleasing and popular, from its measure and rhythm, which was nearly that of our ballad stanza, that it spread all over the country; and Alvaro of Cordova, a Christian Latin poet of this century, complains that the people composed and wrote in Arabic, to the utter neglect of their own and the Latin tongue. He himself, his friend, St. Eulagius, whose relics Abdalla allowed the Christians to remove from Cordova to Leon, and Ciprian, archpriest of Cordova, wrote Latin verses, in which Gothic words and ornaments are introduced, and which have been printed by the great antiquary Father Florez.

The Moors, as we have seen, were fond of almost every branch of literature. The numerous texts of the Koran, which might be turned to suit every theory and every purpose, furnished topics for dissertations, moral, theological, and philosophical, besides the legal discussions to which they naturally

Digitized by Google

led, as they were to direct the practice of the courts. Hence the literary quarrels of some of their most celebrated teachers. The good sense of the caliph Muhammad had put an end to the dispute between the hafit Baqui and the congregation at Cordova; but in other countries these disputes led to dissensions and war; as of late years we have seen the Wahebies attempting to force, by fire and sword, a new interpretation of the Koran on the Mahometans of Arabia and Egypt.

Sermons were a favourite mode of instruction among the Moors. The most elegant alchateb, or preacher, of this age, was Abbas ben Firnâs, surnamed Abulcassim, to whom the caliph Abdala and his family delighted to listen. Bihar, the son of Abdulrahman II., was celebrated for his funeral orations, and to him his father gave the charge of performing the burial service for persons of the royal family.

As among the ten qualities of a knight, goodness, valour, horsemanship, grace, poetry, eloquence, strength, dexterity with the lance, with the sword, and archery, poetry ranks high, it is not wonderful that it should have been so generally cultivated. Most of the princes of the house of Omeia, in Spain, were poets, and some of their works are preserved to this time. The faculty of spontaneous versification was much prized, and a happy impromptu was frequently rewarded with the most precious gifts. "Why is it good to be with chil-

Digitized by Google

dren, when it thunders?" said the caliph Muhammad to his private secretary, Abdalla, who came to him on business, the day that the thunderbolt fell on his carpet as he prayed in the mosque, and who found him playing with his children, and fondling one, who was extremely beautiful, on his knee. Abdalla answered by some elegant verses on the occasion, expressive of the sentiment, that innocence might protect from danger, and the sight of beauty render man unconscious of the fury of the elements. The caliph applauded the verses, and gave Abdalla a purse of gold.

Of sentimental poetry one of the best specimens of this age is from the collection called the *Gardens*. It is addressed by the caliph Muhammad to his favourite sultana, on leaving her for an expedition against the enemy, and is at once tender and animated.

Several of the Moorish knights who distinguished themselves in battle were able to describe their own acts and those of their companions in verse. The minister, Temam ben Amri, wrote in verse the conquest of Spain, with the actions of the amirs and caliphs, from the landing of Tarif to the death of Abdulrahman the Second; and as he died at ninety-six years of age, he must have witnessed much of what he described. Seid ben Suleiman described the valiant actions of the rebels of the house of Hafsun, being himself one of their amirs, in verses which have been often quoted; and his brother also obtained the reputation of an excellent historian

Digitized by Google

and poet. The descriptive poetry of Zahye ben Alhakem, commonly called Algazali, has been praised. He had been a distinguished seaman, and had likewise filled the office of ambassador at Constantinople and other Christian courts, where he was highly esteemed. His finest poem is a description of a storm, in which he had nearly perished on his voyage to Greece. We have seen that satirical poetry was cultivated by sheik Suleiman, of Merida, whose libel the caliph Abdalla took with such good humour. Another satirist was less fortunate: Seid ben Suleiman, already mentioned, had, upon some disgust, quitted the party of Caleb ben Hafsun, and joined the caliph, who gave him an honourable post at Elvira. There he was assassinated, as it is believed, for a satire, beginning,—

O sons of Meruan! famous in retreats!
If your horses are not very active in battle,
They show in flight, at least, that they are not spavined.

The poetical epitaph on the Seid, by Asedi of Elvira, does him honour; it is in sense as follows:

Here lies one who fed the needy and wretched,—
Who was their shade in summer and shelter in winter.
The turf now covers him—but it is a turf of flowers:
May the roses always hide him, and the jasmine bend over him!
Since the earth has produced flowers, the woods green leaves, and the rivers water,
Since the sun has given light, neither men nor genii
Have seen one more noble than the Seid, who lies here;—
Oh! may tears water the myrtle that grows over him!

The passion of Abdulrahman II. for music in-

Digitized by Google

duced him, as we have seen, to send into the East for the most celebrated musician of his time. We know not what the music of the Arabs was, but it is probable that the school founded at Cordova by Ali Zeriab may have left its character in Spain, and be the origin of the national airs of that country. A tale told of the effect of the singing of one of Ali's favourite scholars would induce the belief that the music was little more than a melodious recitation of poetry, so as to allow the words to declare the sentiment. Haroun Alraschid, having quarrelled with his favourite sultana, Meriah, sunk into deep despondency; the vizier Giaffir, having perceived it, ordered the poet Anaf to compose some verses, alluding to the subject of the caliph's grief. The verses being written, he took them to the musician Ishak Moussouli, to set to music, and then caused Ishak to sing them in the caliph's presence. The verses were so touching, and the voice of Ishak so persuasive, that Haroun instantly sought the sultana, and they exchanged forgiveness. She, delighted at the circumstance, learned from the caliph to whom she was obliged for the return of his favour; and, to show her gratitude, sent the poet and musician each a purse of gold. The caliph, not to be behind her in liberality, sent them double the sum; so that they each received about 12,000*l.* sterling.

The domestic manners of the Moors of Cordova in this age very much resemble those of France and Italy, three and four centuries later, excepting that the Moors spent much more time in literature. But

Digitized by Google

they were fond of horsemanship, of the chase, particularly of falconry, and all ranks delighted in playing chess. Their quarrels were often decided by single combat, and sometimes revenged by private assassination. In 895 two young Moorish knights fought a duel in a fair field; but as Almutaraf, the caliph's son, thought that his friend, who was killed in the duel, had been unfairly dealt by, he met his antagonist in the road as he was returning to Seville, challenged him, and killed him on the spot. Some time afterwards Almutaraf himself was waylaid and killed in the street. Several duels between the leaders of hostile troops are also recorded in this age, which seems to have furnished the model whence Ariosto and other romantic poets have drawn their pictures of knightly manners.

In the arts of life we have already seen how much Spain owed to her Arab conquerors. Abdulrahman II. began to convey water by pipes through the cities; the same caliph also encouraged the manufactures of steel, which had been imported from Damascus, and which soon came to such perfection as that the sword-blades of Toledo and Cordova soon rivalled those of Damascus itself: the appearance of the steel, called damasking, used, to a late date, to distinguish these sword-blades from all others.

The peculiar mode of dressing leather long used on the African coast, and which to this time is known as Morocco leather, was also brought to Cordova, where it was improved in one respect—that of soft-

Digitized by Google

ness, which rendered it preferable for boots; and from the Cordovan leather, of which boots and shoes were long made, we have the English word, now disused, cordwainer, for a shoemaker.

The hides produced in Spain were found less adapted for making shields than those of Africa, where the tough coat of the buffalo was applied to that purpose. Yet some light shields were manufactured, and probably those of the Sclavonian guard, whose armour consisted of a shield, a two-handed sword, and a mace or club.

The coin of the caliphs of Spain was hitherto exactly the same as that of the caliphs of Damascus, in weight and superscription, excepting that the name of the place where the mint was established and the date were added. Some alteration afterwards took place, as will be seen in the following chapter.



Arabian Capitals.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ABDULRAHMAN III., A. D. 913, TO HIS DEATH, A. D. 961.



Lady and harp.

BEFORE I proceed with the history of the caliphs of Cordova, and the kings of Leon, it will be useful to go back to the foundation of the states of Navarre, Arragon, and Castile, which began to vie with Leon in importance by the end of the period we are now entering upon. The Asturians, having chosen don Pelayo for their king, had begun to free themselves from the dominion of the Arabs, and amidst their mountainous retreats to form an

Digitized by Google

independent state. Encouraged by their example, about six hundred noble Goths, who had retired into the solitudes of Uruela, near Jaca, calling together the inhabitants of the neighbourhood, proposed to them to elect a king or leader, under whose authority they might enjoy a fixed government, and under whose command they might hope to resist the farther conquests of the enemy. The choice fell upon Garcia Ximenez, who was not of Gothic race, but one of the most noble of the ancient Spaniards, and whose wife, dona Iniga, was of a family equally illustrious. It is not quite certain whether the new chief took the title of king of Sobrarve or Navarre, at that time. His shield was of plain red, without any device whatever. The chapel of the hermitage of St. John the Baptist, where the king had been chosen, was soon enlarged by the gifts of the monarchs who were buried there for some generations. Some small towns and villages were gradually regained from the Moors, and the capital of the new state was fixed at Insa. This first king died in 758, and was succeeded by his son Garci Inigues, who continued to enlarge his territory at the expense of the Moors on one hand, and of the Franks on the other, and who took possession of that part of Biscay called Alava. In his time the country of Arragon had its origin. Aznar, son of Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, having gained some victories over the Moors on the banks of the rivers Arragon and Subordan, took the title of count of

Digitized by Google

Arragon by permission of don Garcia, who at that period claimed a superiority over the province. In the year 801, Barcelona was erected into a county by Charlemagne, under whom it was recovered from the Moors and bestowed on Bernardo, a Frenchman, whose descendants continued to use the title, though the city was fully as often in the hands of the enemy as in theirs. After three generations the house of the first kings of Navarre and Arragon became extinct, and there appears to have been an interregnum for four years, during which time the laws and constitutions of Arragon, commonly called the Fueros de Sobrarve, were framed.

The cortes of Arragon were, no doubt, imitated from the national meetings or parliaments of their Gothic ancestors: they consisted of the nobility of the first rank, that of the second rank, the representatives of towns and the clergy. These were called the four Brazos, or arms of the cortes of Arragon. Over these the king, whose power was very limited, presided. But there was a magistrate called a justiza, or supreme judge, who had a right to control the king's actions. This magistrate was chosen from the second class of nobles; because the first class had a privilege which would have rendered it improper for him to belong to it, namely, that of forming a union to examine the king's acts and judge them, and, if necessary, to dethrone him: and in this case the justiza, had he

Digitized by Google

belonged to that body, might have added too great a weight against the king. But by belonging to the second, he might protect him from cabal and intrigue. In the early period of the monarchy the cortes were held every year and sat forty days, and to the cortes only was the justiza responsible. These constitutions fixed, the cortes proceeded to elect a new king; and Inigo Sanches, count of Bigorro, was chosen. The justiza took the oath of allegiance in the name of the nobles. "We," said he, "who are each of us as good, and who are altogether more powerful than you, promise obedience to your government if you maintain our rights and liberties: if not, not."

It is said that on accepting the crown, Inigo not only acceded to that condition, but farther offered his subjects the privilege, in case of his malversation, to call in any king, Christian or Moor, to punish him; but that his subjects rejected as impious the proposal to appeal to a Mahometan.

The ceremony of the coronation of Iniguez, surnamed Arista, from his swiftness of foot, was performed in the church of Pamplona; hence he is sometimes called king of Pamplona, sometimes king of Navarre, and sometimes king, but oftener count, of Arragon; which title is, however, at the same time, continued to Garci Aynar, the son of Eudes, whose sons, Ximeno Garcia and Fortun Ximenez, succeeded him, and whose daughter, Urraca, married Iniguez Arista. Of their child-

Digitized by Google

ren, Sanctiva became the third wife of Ordonio, king of Leon, as we shall notice; and Fortun and Sancho distinguished themselves in the wars with the Moors.

Not long after the elevation of don Pelayo to the government of the Christians in Gallicia, several of the noble Goths united in the county formerly called Vaceo, but now Old Castile, and choosing a leader, or count, resolved to assert their independence; and taking advantage of the imprudent absence of the Moorish leaders, who were occupied in the invasion of France, they wrested several towns and villages from their governors, and founded the independent county of Castile. Some superiority of the kings of Leon and Asturias was acknowledged; but it was of no very defined nature, and seems to have consisted chiefly in the obligation to assist them in war against the Moors: yet we find the counts of Castile and the kings of Leon making separate truces with the caliphs. The first count that is mentioned is Roderick, cotemporary with Alonzo the Chaste of Leon. His son, don Diego Porcelos, lived to the time of Alonzo III. He with his son-in-law, Balchides, a German knight, who had come into Spain on a pilgrimage to St. James, built the city of Burgos as a place of strength for the country people to retire to from the incursions of the Moors. Porcelos does not appear to have been the only count of Castile at this time, for many others are named;

Digitized by Google

the greatest of whom in wealth and power was Nunio Fernandez, father-in-law of Garcia, king of Leon, whom he assisted to dethrone his father, Alonzo III.

It is now time to return to the affairs of the Mahometans. The Abassides had established the seat of their empire at Bagdad. They had made it not only the abode of magnificence and pleasure, but of science and literature. The volumes of Grecian science were collected, and the caliph exhorted his subjects to study them, for "he was not ignorant that they are the elect of God, his best and most useful servants, whose lives are devoted to the improvement of their rational faculties."

The Fatimite caliphs of Egypt were not behind the Abassides in their love of literature: their library consisted of a hundred thousand volumes, elegantly transcribed and splendidly bound, which were liberally lent to the students of Cairo.

Yet the Omeiads of Cordova surpassed even these in their encouragement of letters, as we shall have occasion to see in the reigns of Abdulrahman III. and his son Alhakem.

On the day on which Abdalla was buried, his grandson, Abdulrahman III., was proclaimed caliph. He received many names indicative of the admiration or affection of his people, but that which is usually added to his own is, *Anasir Ledinala, Defender of the laws of God.* His mother

Digitized by Google

was Maria, of Christian parentage. His temper was excellent, his learning great, and his prudence beyond his age; for he had hardly reached his two-and-twentieth year when he began to reign. He was graceful and dignified in manner, agreeable in person, fair, with lively blue eyes, of sweet and affable conversation, gentle and kind-hearted.

These qualities so endeared him to the people, that the day of his accession was a day of rejoicing throughout the kingdom. His uncle, prince Almudafar, was the first to swear fidelity to him; and the young caliph received his oath with such affectionate emotion as to draw tears from those around.

The first act of his reign was to quiet the rebellion which had disturbed the latter part of his grandfather's life. To this end his gentle persuasive manners greatly contributed. Much of the evil had been caused by jealousies and quarrels between the great families of the Arabs and Africans settled in Spain; and these he found means to reconcile, partly by persuasion, partly by such grants from himself as might remove all causes of jealousy. The good effect of these measures was such as that, when he caused proclamation to be made that he was about to take the field against the remainder of Hafsun's party, so many warriors assembled that it became necessary to make a selection from them, and forty thousand alone were allowed on this occasion to follow his banner. His uncle Almudafar,

Digitized by Google

as he had done in the preceding reign, took all the direction of the army, and led the van; the caliph commanded the main body of the army; the wings and reserve were led by veteran warriors; and they were met by chiefs accustomed to battle, and brought up to hardship and danger.

The army of Abdulrahman, though inferior in number, was superior in cavalry and arms, and after a long day's obstinate combat, Hafsun retired, leaving seven thousand dead on the field. The victory cost the caliph three thousand of his best soldiers. He looked with horror on the field of battle, where the blood of the faithful had been shed by their brethren, as if there were no common enemy to oppose; and ordered the wounded on both sides to be equally attended to.

After this action, Abdulrahman left the prosecution of the war with Hafsun to his uncle Almudafar, and returned to Cordova, whence in the following year he made an expedition to the south, where the Arab chiefs of the hills about Elvira, having made themselves independent, wasted the country, and levied contributions on the farmers and husbandmen. The appearance of the caliph with a powerful army induced them to submit to him, and his manner of receiving them attached them so entirely to his person, that thenceforward they were his constant followers, and his most eager defenders in peace and war. Many of the nobles who had followed the fortunes of Hafsun also sub-

Digitized by Google

mitted to the young caliph, whose generous trust in them secured them to his interest for ever.

In the year 917 Abdulrahman's ships, on returning from some of the ports in the Mediterranean, brought reports to Cordova which alarmed the caliph for the safety of the coast of Spain.

It appeared that the Moors, or Saracens, as they began to be called, of Barca and other African states, had invaded Sicily, and had plundered the towns of Calabria, and threatened the coast of France. He immediately gave orders to the wali Ocaili to scour the coasts of Spain with a strong naval force, and sent Giafar ben Othman of Seville, a man of great experience in naval affairs, to Mallorca to take the command there.

The naval arsenals were diligently employed in the construction of large vessels proper to meet those of the Africans. Abdulrahman now visited Murcia, and remained a few days in its capital to conciliate the people; thence he went to Auriolo, Lorca, and Vientida, where the principal men came out to meet him, and to entreat permission to follow in his suite. He then went on to Denia and Xativa; and being much pleased with the site of Valentia, remained there several days before he proceeded to Morviedro, Noles, and Tortosa, in all which places he was received with the loudest acclamations of joy. He then next followed the upward course of the Ebro to Alcanit, where he was detained for some time receiving the submissions of

Digitized by Google

various towns and castles which had joined Hafsun, and thence marched to Zaragoza, wherein were many of Caleb ben Hafsun's followers. However, the people were favourable to the caliph, and some of the young men burst open the gates, and came to his camp to offer their services, and soon afterwards the magistrates brought the keys of the city; whereupon Abdulrahman granted a general pardon to all who should be within it, on condition of presenting themselves within a certain time; only from Caleb and his sons he required securities. The caliph made his entry next day, and lodged in the palace, where he staid some time, delighted with its agreeable situation and pleasant walks.

While there, an embassy from the Hafsuns came to propose terms to the caliph; but they were such as were inadmissible, and he once more left Almodafar to carry on the war against those rebels, and their allies of Navarre and the Pyrenees, and returned to Cordova. He was called thence by a slight insurrection in the Alpuxarras, which, however, he speedily overcame for a time; but the fierce and warlike Arabs, who had taken possession of the fastnesses, continued in a turbulent state for nearly three years.

Toledo had now held out for many years against the caliph's forces; but the vigorous measures of Abdulrahman had at length reduced it to the ex-

Digitized by Google

tremity of famine. Giafar ben Hafsun, who commanded it, therefore made a sudden sally in the night, broke through the caliph's camp, where it was weakest, and escaped. Next day the town capitulated, the citizens received a general pardon, and the caliph entered A. D. 927, and remained there the whole of that year. From this time the party of Hafsun declined. Some of the chiefs fled to Gallicia, where by a feigned conversion they obtained favour of the king, and assisted and directed the inroads of the Christians in the Mahometan territories; but they never made any serious impression again on the government of Cordova.

Meantime don Garcia, the son of Alonzo the Great, died after three years' reign, and was succeeded by his brother don Ordonio II. in the year of Abdulrahman's accession to the throne of Cordova: thus Gallicia and Leon, which had been separated by the disposition of don Alonzo, were reunited. In the year 918, while Abdulrahman was occupied with the rebellion in the Alpuxarras and the siege of Toledo, Ordonio, at the suggestion of some of the party of Hafsun, marched into the caliph's territories by Zamora and Salamanca, and took and sacked Talavera, sparing neither women nor children, and burned the town, having no hope of keeping it, surrounded as it was by Mahometan settlements. Abdalla ben Jali, governor of Toledo, marched out to drive the Christians

Digitized by Google

from the plains, which they were ravaging, and soon forced them to retire beyond the Douro, laden with spoil and slaves.

As soon as the prince Almodafar heard of the inroad of Ordonio's troops, he left the frontier, and repaired instantly to Cordova, to concert with his nephew the means of revenge. They entered Gallicia with a considerable army, and wasted it as far as Mindonia; but when on the banks of the Douro, being encumbered by their prisoners, they put them to death, and then fought the Christians until night separated the two armies. Not long afterwards another sanguinary battle was fought in the valley of Junguera, in Navarre. The Moors were completely victorious, don Garcia Aznar, or Aynar, count of Arragon, was slain, the bishops of Tours and Salamanca were taken prisoners, and that part of Navarre called Alava remained in the hands of the conquerors. Had the Moors now followed up their conquest, the Christian kingdoms of the north of Spain might have fallen into their hands; but the old passion for invading France seemed to revive with the sight of the Pyrenees, and the troops of Abdulrahman, instead of pursuing the king of Leon, marched to the siege of Thoulouse.

Ordonio, on his return to his own territories, learned at Zamora the death of his queen, by whom he had four sons; Sancho, Alonzo, Ramiro, and Garcia, and one daughter, Ximena; he soon after married Argonta, a Gallician lady of high birth,

Digitized by Google

but put her away to make room for donna Sanctiva, daughter of Garcia Iniguez, king of Navarre, when, in concert with her brother, don Sancho, he made an irruption into the Mussulman province of Riojas, and took several towns and castles.

In the intervals between don Ordonio's warlike expeditions, he had been occupied in improving and strengthening his border towns. He removed the seat of government from Oviedo to Leon, and henceforward he and his successors, who had formerly been called indifferently kings of Oviedo, of Leon, of Gallicia, and of Asturias, were designated as kings of Leon and Asturias. He fortified Leon with new walls and towers, and chose for his palace the baths which had been built by the Arabs, and which were a useless luxury to the unwashed Christians of the time.

Another of Ordonio's cares was the revision of the liturgy used in the Spanish churches. In a former chapter we have seen that the mass book had been regulated and approved at a council of Toledo; and to this form the Gothic Spaniards were the more enthusiastically attached, as, together with their Gothic laws and institutions, it seemed to form the palladium whose inviolate preservation was the great object of their continual warfare with the Moors. Rome, however, kept a watchful eye on Spain. Fearful that the church might assert an independence in form, that might lead to independence in fact, John X. sent a legate

Digitized by Google

into Gallicia to examine the books of the churches, with a view to obtaining an exact conformity with those of Rome. But it was found that the attachment of the Spaniards to their liturgy was too great to attempt an alteration. The legate, therefore, contented himself with a solemn examination of the liturgy, and pronounced the doctrines to be sound, and the words unobjectionable, except those of consecration. It does not appear, however, that even these were altered, and Rome only obtained by this mission, what indeed was the pincipal object, an acknowledgment of the right to control the doctrines of the Spanish church.

The end of Ordonio's reign was stained by an act of treachery uncommon even in those times of war and confusion. He had never forgiven Nunio Fernandez, count of Castile, for the part he had borne in the deposition of his father; not that he resented the insult to his parent; but the insolence of the count, who presumed on his power to uncrown the kings of Leon, irritated him, and he resolved on vengeance. Feigning to hold a council on affairs of the greatest importance to the state, he called on the five counts to assist him with their advice. They, fearing no treachery, advanced to the confines of Castile and Arragon without sufficient guards, and were seized at a place called Regular, and thence conducted to Leon, where, after a short confinement, they were all murdered.

Ordonio did not long survive this atrocious act;

Digitized by Google

his last days were spent in providing against the effects of the resentment of the Castilians, who were extremely attached to their counts, and threatened to revenge their death. He died in Zamora, and was buried at Leon, in the year 923.

He was succeeded by his brother Froila II., surnamed the Cruel, who reigned only fourteen months. He left three sons, Alonzo, Ordonio, and Ramiro, by his wife Munia, and by another woman, a son named Froila.

The Castilians, exasperated at the death of their counts, and oppressed by the harsh measures which Ordonio and Froila had taken to subdue them entirely to the kingdom of Leon, resolved on asserting their independence. Assembling, therefore, in their cortes, they attempted to frame a freer government than they had hitherto enjoyed. For this end they elected among the nobles two judges, one of whom should attend to the internal regulation of the state, and the other lead its armies, which were supposed to be in a state of continual warfare against the Moors. A tradition of the country points out a village, named Bijudico, near Pomar, which was long distinguished by particular privileges, as the seat of these judges, whence they promulgated their laws, and gave judgment to the people. Lain Calvo was the first military judge: he was married to the daughter of his colleague, Nunio Rasura, whose son had married donna Ximena, the daughter of the count Nunio

Digitized by Google

Fernandez, whom Ordonio had so treacherously killed; their son was the famous count Fernan Gonzalez, whose great actions, and especially his successful battles with the Moors, rendered him one of the most celebrated princes of his time.

Froila II. was succeeded by his nephew, Alonzo IV. commonly called the Monk, because, having reigned but six years, he either grew weary of the crown, or his subjects being tired of his tyranny, forced him to resign it, and he retired to the monastery of Sahagun. His brother, don Ramiro II. a man of very different character, succeeded. He married donna Teresa, sister of donna Urraca, the wife of the Monk, and daughter of Sancho Aborca, king of Navarre, who had been killed by the count Fernan Gonzalez in an inroad Sancho had made into Castile. Ramiro's first care was to arm his vassals against the Moors; and while he was engaged in doing so, Alonzo, becoming weary of his cell, left Sahagun, and suddenly appeared in Leon, where he fortified himself against his brother. Ramiro surrounded the place, and soon starved Alonzo out, and put him in prison. Other enemies, in the persons of the children of don Froila, called him into the Asturias. The princes had taken offence at not being called to the cortes in which don Alonzo had resigned his crown, and revenged the slight put on them by raising a civil war; and the people, in those times of disorder, were easily led to follow any chief who would lead them into action

Digitized by Google

with the hopes of plunder. Ramiro was, however, strong in his army and in the name of king; the young princes were soon taken, and thrown into the same dungeon with don Alonzo, whose eyes, as well as those of the young men, were put out. This cruel species of punishment continued in use for many centuries, and indeed in some of the despotic kingdoms of the East is still practised. The unhappy princes were some time afterwards removed from Leon to a monastery in the neighbourhood, where they wore out their miserable existence.

Meantime the arms of the caliph Abdulrahman III. had been employed in Africa. His protection had been claimed by the descendants of those Zanetes who had assisted the first Abdulrahman in his expedition to Spain, and who had afforded him an asylum in his misfortunes. The various petty states along the coast of Africa had belonged either to the Fatimites of Egypt or to the Edrissites of Fez. But, as occasion offered, each of the amirs endeavoured to form an independent state, and, of course, to extend his territory at the expense of his neighbours. About the year 917, Abi Alafia, amir of Mequeneza, had driven out Yahye ben Edris, king of Fez, and had taken possession of most of the towns on the coast of Almagrêb. Yahye took refuge among the Zanetes, whose settlements near the desert afforded them a protection which few armies could violate. The chiefs wrote to Abdulrahman in favour of their guest, and the

Digitized by Google

caliph immediately took measures to expel Abi Alafin. He ordered Ocaili, the amir of his fleets in the Mediterranean, and Giaffar, the naval commander at Mallorca, to land some troops in Africa to act in concert with the Zanetes, and at the same time desired them to engage the successful rebel to repair the evil he had done by turning his arms against the invasion of a hostile sect, which was threatened from the East. This negotiation does not appear to have been successful; for in 931 the caliph found it necessary to send over troops to garrison his towns of Ceuta and Tanja, on the coast of Africa, and caused their walls to be raised and strongly fortified, that they might afford a place of retreat and security for the troops which he now resolved to send over to occupy the eastern frontiers of Fez.

The capital was taken and retaken by several parties. The Edrissites, the Fatimites, and Alafia, possessed it by turns; but towards the end of the year 932 the troops of Abdulrahman entered it. The khotba was read in his name in the mosques, and his allies remained in quiet possession of their state.

But the pleasure caused by this success was soon troubled. Aben Ishac ben Omeya, governor of Santerem, had conspired with Ramiro, called by the Moors Rodmir, king of Leon, to invade Lusitania; and they had accordingly advanced as far as Badajos, and plundered Lisbon. Prince Almu-

Digitized by Google

dafar marched against them, and drove them back beyond the Douro, carrying every thing before him with his Andalusian cavalry, at the head of which he made an inroad into Gallicia, and returned loaded with plunder.

A year of peace on the frontiers followed; for the Christians were too much engaged in their domestic disputes to have leisure to attack the common enemy. Navarre, Castile, and Leon, were in a state of constant warfare, and the history of the times is so confused, that it is impossible to form any clear idea of the events. But as they led to no change of importance, we cannot regret that we know so little of them.

The peaceful labours and enjoyments of the caliph are dwelt upon minutely in the Moorish chronicles, and the descriptions of his palaces and gardens, wherein he enjoyed not only the delights of sense, but the more refined and intellectual pleasures of philosophy and poetry, form a singular picture at a time when the now-polished nations of Europe were sunk in the grossest barbarism.

In the year 936 Abdulrahman finished the palace of Azahrâ, which he had built on a beautiful spot, where he was accustomed to pass the spring and autumn, on the banks of the Guadalquiver, five miles below Cordova. It was surrounded by pleasant meadows, enclosed by a thick wood, close to which the palace was erected. His friendly intercourse with the Greek emperors enabled him to

Digitized by Google

command the marbles and the workmen of the East, and the architects of Cordova had long been famous for their taste and ingenuity. There were in the new building four thousand three hundred columns of precious marble, beautifully wrought; the pavements were of the same material, and the walls within were incrusted with it. The woodwork was of carved cedar. In the larger rooms there were fountains, where the water played in basons and shells of porphyry or marble; and in the hall called the caliph's there was a jasper fountain, in the midst of which a golden swan of exquisite workmanship spouted the water from its mouth; and from the marble dome of the canopy above it was suspended the extraordinary pearl which the Greek emperor had presented to the caliph. Contiguous to the palace were the gardens, where the fruit trees were divided by thickets of laurels, myrtles, and bays, with winding pools that reflected in their clear waters the beauties of the place. In the midst of the gardens, on a knoll, whence they might all be seen, was the caliph's pavilion, where, in a porphyry bason, a fountain of quicksilver played, and reflected the sunbeams in a surprising manner. In various parts of the garden there were baths of marble of great beauty, and all the curtains and screens were of tissue of gold and silk, wrought in natural figures of animals, fruits, and flowers. "In short, within and without the palace there were compressed all the riches

Digitized by Google

and worldly delights which could flatter a powerful monarch." The place was named Azahra, after a beautiful slave whom the caliph loved, and for whose sake he broke the express command of the Koran, which forbids the making of any statue, lest it should lead the people to idolatry.

He caused her statue in white marble to be placed over the gateway leading into the garden; and soon taking more delight in Azahra than in any other residence, he built around it a city, whose mosque, in beauty and workmanship, if not in extent, rivalled that of Cordova. There he also placed his new mint, in which, for the first time, a coin peculiar to the caliphs of Cordova was struck; and the court and army soon followed the example of the sovereign, and built their houses and palaces in the new city.

The body of troops called the guard of Abdulrahman, and who received regular pay, consisted of twelve thousand men. Four thousand were Sclavonians from the coasts of Dalmatia and the neighbourhood. These wore a livery and peculiar arms, among which the fantastic and ornamented war-clubs and maces were conspicuous. They served on foot, and formed the interior guard of the palace, and besides these there were slaves and servants. The other guards were of a more honourable class: four thousand Zanete Arabs, and four thousand Andalusians, commanded by the principal sheiks of Spain and of Tahart, attended the palace in

Digitized by Google

turn by companies; and it was only when the caliph took the field that they all accompanied him. In the half yearly journeys he made to visit the cities of his kingdom, besides his household and a company of guards, he was attended by some of his council, and had always some philosophers and poets, besides one with books, to amuse his hours of rest; and for more active sport, his falcons and dogs were in the train.

But from the delights of Azahra and the cultivation of the arts of peace, Abdulrahman was called, in the year 939, by the incursions of the Christians into the Moorish territory. Ramirez II. having succeeded in reducing some domestic rebels, and in establishing peace with the Navarrese and Castillians, had wasted all the country on the south of the Douro, and had taken and burnt Madrid, then first beginning to rise into importance. Prince Almodafar undertook to drive Ramiro's army back, and revenge the burning of Madrid by seizing Zamora. He accordingly marched to besiege that city with an army of nearly a hundred thousand men. The caliph accompanied him; and the whole country north of the Douro was scoured by the horsemen of Algarve and Andalusia. Ramiro no sooner heard of this formidable invasion, than he sent to Fernan Gonzales of Castile, and to the captains of Biscay, to bring all their forces together against the common enemy: and they accordingly assembled a host as numerous as that of the Moors.

Digitized by Google

The caliph heard of their approach under the walls of Zamora, and he and Almodafar immediately marched to meet the king, leaving a sufficient force before the city to maintain the siege. The two armies met at a place called Simancas, on the banks of the Pisuerga, a little above its junction with the Douro. It appears that a remarkable eclipse of the sun that took place the day after they came in sight of each other, that is on the 19th July, delayed the battle for two or three days, the superstitious soldiers on both sides fearing that the eclipse portended bad success.

The Christian host had the advantage of the ground. On each side they met with equal fury. Almodafar brandishing his stout lance, and spurring his fierce war-horse, rode from post to post, animating his officers, and bearing down the enemy. The Christians stood the shock of the Arab cavalry with admirable constancy: Ramiro with his horse armed like himself with iron mail, trod down the infantry of the Moors; these had begun to give way before the hardy Gallicians, who imagined that they were led on by two angels on white horses. Then Abdulrahman, seeing his right in disorder, bore down on the enemy with the horsemen of Cordova. Many chiefs were killed on both sides. The cadi of Valencia fell close to the caliph, the noble Ibrahim of Cordova was severely wounded and taken prisoner; on that day none spared himself. Night at length put an end to the battle: both parties have claimed

Digitized by Google

the victory. The Christians boast of the battle of Simancas as one of the most glorious ever gained in Spain. The Moors claim the advantage, because they remained that night on the field of battle, the living soldier resting by his dead comrade, and because they were ready to renew the fight next day. But they acknowledge that they lost forty thousand men; nor was the slaughter of the Christians much less.

Abdulrahman returned to the siege of Zamora: the place was surrounded by seven ancient and strong walls, with ditches full of water, and defended by a brave garrison. Nevertheless it was carried, but every step was gained by hard fighting; and the Moors confess that the taking that city cost them some thousand soldiers. The last ditch was passed over the dead bodies of their companions. Their vengeance was terrible, for they spared none but the women and children; and this day of Alhandic they consider as superior to the day of Simancas.

The following year, however, Ramiro led his troops to the south of the Douro, and ravaged part of Lusitania; he also retook Zamora, but was speedily dispossessed, and the Moors resumed the country as far as their old frontiers on the Douro.

Both parties being now weary of the war, and Ramiro requiring a breathing time to attend to the domestic state of his kingdom, he sent ambassadors to Cordova to treat of peace. Abdulrahmau re-

Digitized by Google

ceived them magnificently, and accepted the conditions offered him. He also sent the minister Ahmed ben Said to accompany them back to Leon, with a suitable retinue, to compliment the brave Ramiro in his name, and to conclude a truce for five years; which truce was religiously observed.

One of Ramiro's first works of peace was to build a nunnery at Leon, dedicated to saint Saviour, and to endow it with the spoils taken at Simancas from the Moors. His daughter donna Elvira was the first abbess; and the unmarried daughters of the kings of Leon had always a right of maintenance from the lands of that house. An insurrection in part of Asturias and Biscay, where one of the nobles attempted to render himself independent, next called Ramiro's attention. It was speedily quelled, and the heads of it, after a short imprisonment at Leon, were pardoned. Sensible of the importance of the friendship of the count of Castile, Ramiro entered into alliance with Fernan Gonzalez, and asked his daughter Urraca in marriage for his son Ordonio. And now the truce with the caliph being at an end, the forces of Castile and Leon made an incursion into his territories; when, as usual, after plundering the people, they retired within their own territories, followed by the Moors, who retaliated on their subjects the injuries they had received.

After this expedition, Ramiro made a journey to the northern coast of his kingdom, for the purpose

Digitized by Google

of inspecting the repairs of the cities there; but having caught a fever at Oviedo, he returned hastily to Leon, where he died in the year 950, leaving the crown to his son, don Ordonio III.

Meantime a domestic tragedy had embittered the days of Abdulrahman. He had declared the prince Alhakem his successor, and on the occasion had held a festival of great magnificence. Alhakem might deserve the distinction made by his father, and his after life displayed abilities and virtues of no common stamp. Yet his brother Abdalla, who appeared only his equal in affection for letters, in knighthood, and in generosity, was more popular; and there were not wanting persons about the court to persuade him that an undue affection had guided the caliph in the choice of his successor. The principal companion of Abdalla was Aben Abdildar, an ambitious man, who flattered himself that if Abdalla came to the throne, he himself might, as his hagib, enjoy the power, if not the name, of royalty; and he had been recently disappointed in not obtaining the office of cadi of cadies. He accordingly fomented whatever little jealousy Abdalla might have felt, and set before him in so dazzling a light the splendours and sweets of power, and so flattered him with the representation of the great love of the people for him, that in an evil hour the young prince entered into a conspiracy to deprive his father of the sovereignty, and to murder Alhakem. A faithful cadi discovered the conspiracy to Abdulrahman,

Digitized by Google

who, unwilling to believe, yet fearing the truth, consulted his uncle Almodafar. He, under cover of night, at the very hour when the conspiracy should have been carried into effect, sent a trusty officer with a sufficient guard to Cordova, where, entering the royal palace of Meruan in the caliph's name, Abdalla, together with Aben Abdildar, and one of their principal companions, was taken and conveyed to Azahra. When the prince was brought into his father's presence, the caliph said, "What! art thou offended that thou dost not reign?" and the prince burst into tears, and gave no answer. Then he and his adviser were taken out, and confined in separate chambers. Aben Abdildar destroyed himself that night in his apartment. But the council of state was assembled, and Abdalla was examined before it. The guilt of the prince was too clear, and he was condemned. Alhakem in vain interceded for his brother, whom he loved tenderly. This was Abdulrahman's answer: "Intercession and entreaties on thy part are right; and if I were so happy as to be a private man, I should do as thou wouldest, and as my heart prompts. But, as a sovereign, I must consider posterity, and give my people an example of justice, and this, bitterly lamenting my child, whom I shall deplore while I have life. For neither thy tears, nor my desolation, nor that of our whole house, may deliver my unhappy son from the pain of his too certain crime."

That very night Abdalla was put to death in his

Digitized by Google

chamber. Next day his brothers bore him to the grave, in the family burial-place, in the Rusafa.

Shortly afterwards died the prince Almodafar, uncle to the caliph. He was a man of singular wisdom in council, and prowess in war. He had been the main support of his father Abdalla's throne in all the wars and rebellions that troubled his reign. He had acted the part of a father to Abdulrahman in his youth, and a faithful general in advanced life.

In the same year, 949, an ambassador arrived from Constantinople with letters from the emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. He was received with great pomp in the pavilion of the garden of Azahra, which was lined, for the occasion, with hangings of green silk and gold. The caliph was attended by his hagib and principal officers, and a brilliant guard of Sclavonians. He received the letters graciously; they were written on vellum, illuminated with azure and gold, and enclosed in a case, whereon were engraved the figures of the blessed Jesus, and of Constantine I. They reminded him of the alliance of his ancestors with the court of Constantinople against the caliphs of Bagdad, and besought him to renew it. Having read the letters, Abdulrahman recommended the ambassador and his companions to the hospitality of his hagib; and after they had remained some time in Cordova, they were accompanied on their return by a relation of the caliph, who was to renew the treaty of alliance,

Digitized by Google

and who carried with him a present of Andalusian horses, and precious sword-blades, and caparisons for the horses from Toledo and Cordova.

Some time after this, a very large ship, which the caliph had built in Seville to trade with Egypt and Syria, met, off the coast of Sicily, an African vessel, on board of which there was a messenger from the soldan of Egypt to his lieutenant in that island. The Andalusian captain attacked and took the African vessel, continued his voyage, and sold his goods in Alexandria. When the soldan heard of this event he ordered his ships from the coasts of Africa and Sicily to join and plunder those of Spain; they accordingly entered the port of Almeria, where they took possession of the great vessel, which had not even time to discharge her cargo, burned several smaller ones that were in the port, and retired well pleased with their reprisal.

Abdulrahman regretted this the more, because there were on board a number of beautiful damsels and sweet singers from Greece and the west of Asia. His hagib, Ahmed ben Said, promised to retaliate on the Africans; and having collected a considerable fleet, with a body of warriors, he passed over to Wahran (Oran), where he called together the Spanish soldiers of Almagrêb, and entered the Egyptian territory, and drove every thing before him, even to the gates of Tunis. That city was inhabited by many rich merchants and Jews, and had become exceedingly rich by its trade. The

Digitized by Google

Andalusians and Zanetes, animated by the hopes of plunder, attacked it furiously both by sea and land. At length the affluent inhabitants proposed to ransom their city, and offered an immense sum in gold; but Alimed ben Said insisted on receiving, besides the gold, rich stuffs, precious spices, jewels, robes, and a certain number of male and female slaves, arms, and horses, and with these he and his men returned, well satisfied, to Seville. The riches gained in this expedition were such, that after paying the fifth part reserved for the caliph, and the compensation for the great ship; the hagib, the naval officers, and, in short, every man engaged in the affair remained content with their prizes. The caliph, as a mark of his favour and approbation, gave the hagib a pension of a hundred thousand *doblas* of gold a year *. Part of the booty was consecrated to the enlargement and decoration of the fountains of Cordova, especially those of the great mosque; and the inscription over these works preserves the name of the architect, Said ben Ayub, as well as that of the caliph. The garden of that mosque was now become delightful; the palm-trees and oranges that adorned it had grown up, and gave a pleasant shade to the green alleys and foun-

* As the caliphs of Cordova used the same money as those of Damascus, and as Gibbon reckons the gold piece of Damascus at 8*s.*, these doblas were worth 16*s.*, and the pension was 80,000*l.* sterling a year.

Digitized by Google

tains and flowers below, "so as to put those who came to pray in mind of paradise."

Meanwhile, don Ordonio III. had been engaged in civil war. His brother, don Sancho, was much beloved by the people, who, desiring him for their king, took up arms in his cause: the king of Navarre and count of Castile did the same; on which Ordonio divorced Urraca, the count's daughter, and married Elvira, daughter of don Gonzalez, count of Asturias.

Ordonio soon put down the rebellion, and turned the arms both of his own and brother's parties against the Moors, making an incursion into Lusitania as far as the gates of Lisbon. The count of Castile also made some successful inroads in the neighbourhood of Salamanca. It is said, that pursuing a wild beast in the mountains, it took refuge in a hermit's cell, and that he, respecting the sanctity of the place, would not wound it there. The hermit appeared to the count, and, as the legend says, made his bow to him, and gave him food and lodging for the night; and in the morning bade him now go and fight the infidels, and that a prodigy should appear as a sign of victory. Accordingly the count rejoined his people, and encouraged them by relating his conversation with the hermit. At that moment the earth opened and swallowed an impatient cavalier with his horse. The count justly thought this was the promised

Digitized by Google

prodigy, and led his troops to battle. Fighting confident of success, they gained some advantage, and the Moors, who opposed them, were driven off the field. I have related this story as a specimen of the tales invented to encourage the Christian soldiers against the Moors at the time, or added afterwards to give an air of sacredness to the cause in behalf of which miracles were thus wrought. Don Ordonio did not live long: as he was preparing to make war a second time on the Moors, he died in the year 955, and was buried at Leon, at St. Saviour's.

Don Sancho, surnamed the Fat, succeeded his brother; but the early part of his reign was disturbed by the pretensions of a son of Alonzo the Monk, named Ordonio the Bad, who had married donna Urraca, the divorced wife of his cousin Ordonio III. Sancho was obliged to take refuge with his uncle, the king of Navarre. His great corpulency, which appears to have been, in fact, dropsy, rendering him unwieldy and incapable of taking an active part against his cousin, he was advised by the king of Navarre to go to Cordova, and there consult the Moorish physicians on his disorder. Sancho accordingly went thither, and was honourably received, and hospitably treated by Abdulrahman, who ordered his own physicians to attend him; and his cure being perfected, he granted him a considerable body of troops to assist in recovering his kingdom from Ordonio the Bad; and

Digitized by Google

a truce was made between Sancho and the caliph, which lasted during their respective lives.

The usurper fled before Sancho, and left his wife to return to her father: he himself took refuge among the Moors, and died miserably near Cordova. The affairs of Castile were also disturbed at this time by civil war, so that don Sancho had time to seat himself firmly on the throne, notwithstanding the enmity of the powerful counts of that province.

About the same period, when don Sancho was a visitor, on account of his health, at Cordova, Abdulrahman received another prince on a very different occasion. Abu Alaxi, one of the princes of the house of Edris, hearing of the power and riches of the caliphs of Cordova, and that they maintained their wealth, and insured an entrance to paradise, by constant wars with the Christians of the North, wrote letters, entreating permission to come to Spain to make his algiheb, or holy campaign. Abdulrahman willingly consented to his proposal, and sent some of the officers of his household to meet him on his landing at Algeziras; and besides the current expenses, which were so provided, that at each resting-place there was every convenience of a royal palace, about two hundred pounds sterling a day were allowed for extraordinary occurrences. The Edresi remained some days in the palace at Cordova, and then set out for the frontiers of Castile, where he attacked the Christians so furiously,

Digitized by Google

that the count Fernan Gonzalez was obliged to make most extraordinary efforts to withstand him; but at length he encountered him at Pedrahita, and gained a complete victory.

The cities and towns of Castile and Navarre, and indeed of all the Christian part of Spain, sent messengers to Fernan Gonzalez, to congratulate him on his success: and Sancho, although at peace himself with the caliph, could not do otherwise; but prompted by his own jealousy, and urged by his mother, donna Teresa, sister to the king of Navarre, who hated the count, he was desirous of getting him into his power. He accordingly sent to entreat him not to be absent at the ensuing assembly of the cortes of Leon, where affairs of the greatest importance to the Christians were to be discussed, and in which his presence and advice would be of material consequence.

The count accordingly went thither, but so well accompanied, that it appeared unsafe to attack him. Donna Teresa, however, resolved to carry her point, and Fernan Gonzalez being then a widower, proposed that he should marry her sister, donna Sancha, and for that purpose repair to Navarre, where Teresa depended on her brother for the execution of her projects. Meantime, a beautiful horse and a well-trained hawk, that the count had brought with him, attracted the attention of Sancho, who desired to buy them. Fernan Gonzalez offered

Digitized by Google

them as a free gift; but, as the king would not accept them, the price was fixed, and it was agreed, that if it were not paid by a certain day, it should be doubled for every succeeding day. The count then proceeded to Navarre, where the king, Garci Sanchez, seized him and threw him into prison. He had, however, made himself so agreeable, in the mean time, to donna Sancha, that she contrived to elude the vigilance of the guards, to free him and escape with him to Castile. Their marriage was celebrated with great magnificence at Burgos, and shortly afterwards the king of Navarre was taken prisoner by the count, and detained thirteen months in the castle of Burgos, when he was set at liberty by the intercession of his sister.

Donna Teresa, disappointed at not succeding in her designs against Fernan Gonzalez, once more urged her son to summon him to the cortes, which he did; and, on the count's complying, he had him seized and thrown into a dungeon, from whence he was again set free by the ingenuity of his wife. She feigned a pilgrimage to Santiago, and accordingly arrived at Leon, which lay on the road, and where her husband was confined. She sought and obtained leave to pass a day with him in his cell. At nightfall, taking advantage of the darkness, she exchanged clothes with him, and having provided horses at a little distance, he reached his own frontier before his escape was discovered. The rage of Sancho,

Digitized by Google

at finding that his prisoner had escaped, was at first unbounded; but better thoughts soon possessed him, and he caused donna Sancha to be honourably escorted to her husband. The count, now willing to distress the king, demanded payment for his horse and hawk; but the time had gone so far by, that it would have exhausted his royal treasury to liquidate the debt; therefore the king offered, and the count accepted, the entire freedom and independence of Castile, which was henceforth considered as a separate state.

Meantime a bold adventurer had arisen in Africa, and, bursting unexpectedly into the territory of Fez, had seized all the principal places, excepting those on the coast, which the caliph had caused to be too strongly fortified to be surprised, and had razed the walls of the capital.

The spirit of Abdulrahman, wounded as it was by the death of his uncle and a promising child, and which had never recovered its tone since the condemnation of his beloved son Abdalla, now sunk into a settled melancholy. His son Alhakem was deputed to provide for the recovery of the African towns, which was soon effected, and for the safety of the northern frontier; but Abdulrahman himself retired to the privacy of his gardens, and spent his time among his family, and with the sages and poets, whose counsels or whose songs might soothe his mind. One of his principal companions was Abu Ayub, a man of learning and piety, who had

Digitized by Google

been a soldier, but now lived a retired and ascetic life, wearing nothing but coarse woollen, and going about doing good. By his hands the caliph distributed alms to many poor families. It was in conversation with this excellent Mussulman that Abdulrahman first pronounced that memorable summary of the days of happiness he had enjoyed, which was afterwards found more solemnly registered among his papers.

"I have now reigned above fifty years in victory or peace; beloved by my subjects, dreaded by my enemies, and respected by my allies; riches and honours, power and pleasures, have waited on my call, nor does any earthly blessing appear to have been wanting to my felicity. In this situation I have diligently numbered the days of pure and genuine happiness which have fallen to my lot: they amount to FOURTEEN:—Oh, man! place not thy confidence in this present world."

Towards the end of his life, one of his greatest pleasures was to listen to the songs of Moyna, his female secretary, and of Ayesha, a lady of Cordova, one of the most chaste, beautiful, and learned persons of the age. Without any apparent illness he grew weaker and weaker; but, though melancholy, he was still gentle and affectionate to those around him, and died quietly among them in the seventy-third year of his age, and the fifty-first of his reign, in 961.

Sancho, king of Leon, only survived the caliph

Digitized by Google

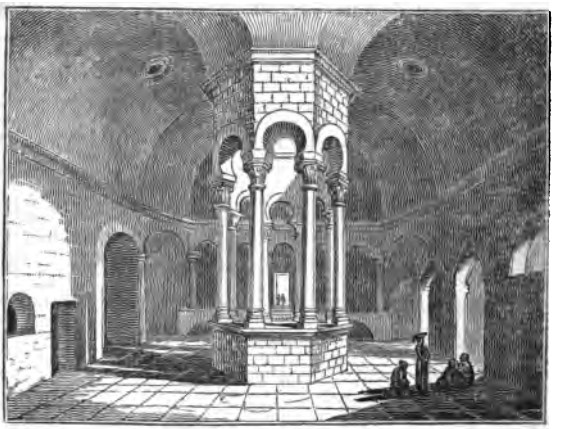
six years; it is said he was poisoned, with an apple, by Gonzalez, count of the Lusitanian frontier, in the year 967, and left an infant of five years old, don Ramiro III., on the throne.

The queen donna Teresa, and her sister donna Elvira or Geloyra, were, however, women of masculine understandings. Their first care was to conclude a peace with the caliph Alhakem, the successor of Abdulrahman III., who, as a proof of his good will, presented the young king with the relics of the martyr Pelagius, whose remains had been asked for in vain by don Sancho. But the nobles and the priests of Leon seemed equally indignant at the government of a female; and the minority of don Ramiro was a continual scene of dissension. Nor did the king's marriage improve his affairs, Urraca or Sancha, a person of uncertain parentage, offended the nobles by her haughtiness, and her family by her folly. Hence a powerful party conspired to place Bermudo, son of Ordonio III., on the throne; but before they had gained half the kingdom, Ramiro died, and left Bermudo peaceable possessor of the crown in the year 982.

Meantime the Moorish part of Spain had enjoyed unusual tranquillity. The character of Alhakem was steady and tranquil; he had come late to the crown, and his father Abdulrahman used often to say to him that his own long reign robbed him of half his rights. But the father and son were the truest friends, and when the people surrounded

Digitized by Google

Abdulrahman's bier, crying out, "Our father is gone! alas, for the sword of Islam, the refuge of the poor and needy, and the terror of the proud!" the tears of his son and successor were the most sincere.



Arab Baths at Gerona.

The reign of Abdulrahman III. is perhaps the most brilliant period of the Moorish history of Spain as to arts, manufactures, and literature. Architecture, which had flourished under the preceding caliphs, was carried to a still higher degree of beauty and ornament in this reign. The palace of Azahra is a proof of it. There and in the mosque at Cordova, built by Abdulrahman I., the arches rested on single columns, whose proportions approached to those of the Corinthian order. But several edifices were now raised wherein towers

Digitized by Google

were supported on clustered columns, which, while they possessed the strength of solid pillars, appeared more light and beautiful. The spires and turrets of the mosques and palaces were carried to a bolder height. The aqueducts, and, above all, the canals of irrigation, were planned and constructed with greater skill; and the fortifications were built with greater solidity. The little sculpture that was permitted, or used in defiance of the law, was foreign. The curious golden swan of Azahra was from Constantinople; and it is most probable that it was a Greek artist who executed the statue of the beautiful Zehra.

Painting was chiefly used in illuminating books, and for other domestic ornamental purposes. Calligraphy, where printing is unknown, is a most important art, and was cultivated as an accomplishment by both men and women: it is recorded of the virtuous and learned Ayesha, that her handwriting, both on paper and vellum, was most beautiful; and that she had a great collection of books of her own copying, besides those she had copied for the caliph, on various branches of literature and science.

Nor were the Moors of Africa behind their brethren of Spain in the love of letters and arts. A learned man of Bornou of this period is mentioned as one of the best historians of his time.

But perhaps there is nothing in the whole reign of Abdulrahman more remarkable than the literary

Digitized by Google

societies which assembled in the different palaces of Cordova. Every evening some of the noblemen or princes opened their gates to the learned of every class and nation. Obeidalla ben Yahye ben Edris loved philosophy and poetry; it was from his house that the counsellor Ismael ben Bedr addressed those delicate yet complimentary verses to the caliph, remonstrating against his melancholy, which drew from him an answer in the same metre, as full of thought, and of conviction of the imperfect nature of human enjoyment, as the remarkable writing which I have quoted in another part of this chapter.

In the houses of the physicians, Isa ben Ishac and Chalaf ben Abes, both remarkable for their works on medicine, the lovers of astronomy, calculation, and other branches of physical science, frequently met to converse, or to communicate their various writings to each other. Isa and Chalaf were both physicians to the caliph. They were benevolent and virtuous men, whose houses were always open to the poor, who flocked to them for their advice as well as their alms. They were, I believe, Jews, as that nation was more eminent in medicine, and the sciences belonging to it, than any other at that time.

The assembly of the celebrated Ahmed ben Said, the particular friend of Abdulrahman, was considered as a school of literature for the young men who desired to cultivate poetry, eloquence, or law. One of his most famous guests was Yahye

Digitized by Google

ben Hudheil, whose call to poetry he himself relates as follows. The day when the great poet Ahmed Abdrabehi was buried, he was passing through the street, and seeing a great concourse of people following in the funeral procession, he inquired the name of the defunct. "What!" said the people, "know you not that the poet of Cordova is dead?" and he joined the train, and observed the general feeling that animated all who were there; and his mind was turned to the fame of a poet, and he returned quite melancholy to his house. In the night he dreamt he saw the old man looking on him with a very kindly and benign countenance, and taking this for a good omen, he thenceforward applied himself to poetry.

The men of law and ministers of state often met at the house of the cadi Aben Zarb; but it was at the Meruan palace that the most brilliant literary assemblies were held. The prince Alhakem, while only his father's general and counsellor, devoted most of his time to literature; but when he took on him the whole weight of government, he made his brother Abdulasiz his librarian, and gave to his brother Almondhir the agreeable office of receiving and protecting the learned men whom he had invited to the palace of Meruan. There the famous travellers, Ahmed ben Chalaf and Ahmed ben Muza, of Guadalara, and Aben Isa, of Grenada, were received; and the book of geography of the latter, with the latitudes of the places he had

Digitized by Google

visited carefully noted, was presented to his patron; and Aba Rihan, commonly called Albiruni, after forty years' travel, brought thither that complete geography which afterwards served Abulfeda to fix the latitudes and longitudes of many towns.

Alhakem's sultana Redhiya, whom he called Star of Bliss, was celebrated for her learning, and they equally encouraged letters. They collected the most precious books on art and science, and the most elegant collections of poetry and eloquence; but they loved best the treatises on history and geography. Alhakem spared neither pains nor expense in his library; he kept persons well qualified in all the cities of Egypt, Africa, Syria, Irac, and Persia, constantly employed in collecting for the Meruan library. He possessed the genealogies of all the Arab tribes, with their various emigrations and colonies, and had copies or translations of the books written by the sages of every country. He himself wrote to the celebrated Abulfaragius to ask for copies of his various works. In Bagdad he maintained a copyist constantly engaged, with clerks under him, in enriching his collection.

His library was arranged according to the subjects treated of in the books, and each division had an elegant inscription explanatory of its use. The indexes not only named the author, but his country, his family, and the dates of his birth and death; and the great catalogue, drawn up by the prince

Digitized by Google

and his secretary and friend, Ghalib ben Muhamad ben Abdulwahib, commonly called Abdelselim, consisted of forty-four volumes, each of fifty folios.

To this magnificent collection the learned had free access; there they read or recited their various works, related their travels, or pronounced those panegyrics on departed men of talent which seems to have been the usual mode of honouring them at that time.

Among the Christians in this century books were so scarce, that one and the same Bible, with St. Jerome's Epistles, served different monasteries, and there does not appear to have been one man of letters born among them. The people had become fond of the Arabic verses and songs, and the higher classes were too much engaged in politics and war to have leisure for the cultivation of letters.

As to the domestic habits of the Moors, they may be collected from the histories and anecdotes of the time. They rose so early as to perform their morning prayer and ablutions soon after sunrise, and ate some light refreshing food, such as fruit and bread, soon afterwards. They then attended to business, or performed military exercise, till noon, when the principal meal was taken. It had been the custom from the time of their coming into Spain to indulge themselves in the use of red wine, and besides this, white wine, invented, as the Moors say, for the express purpose of eluding the command, and various strong liquors obtained

Digitized by Google

from dates, figs, and other sweet fruits. In the reign of Abdulrahman, one of the four chief cadies of Cordova, who acted under the cadi of cadies, named Sohaib ben Munia, was much addicted to wine. On his seal were engraved some Arabic characters, signifying, "O thou who knowest what is hidden, be propitious to Sohaib." One day, when he had fallen asleep after drinking freely at the house of the minister Muza ben Rodeira, his companions stole the seal, and altered the points so as to change the meaning to "O thou who knowest the blessing of wine, be propitious to Sohaib," and then replaced it. The cadi, suspecting nothing, went home; and on the first occasion sealed his reports as usual, and transmitted them to the caliph. Abdulrahman read the motto on the seal, and sent for the cadi, and said to him, "Sohaib, thou art a wine-bibber; thy very seal confesses it." The poor magistrate, looking on the seal, changed colour, and said, "My lord, I know not how this may be; but I hope God will forgive my fault, and that thou wilt also pardon me." The caliph, learning how the matter stood, forgave the cadi, and applauded the ingenuity of the jest.

After noon, during the sultry hours, all ranks appear usually to have lain down to rest. The rich retired to the pavilions in their cool gardens for the purpose; and on awaking, if no business interfered, heard music, or retired to study in their libraries: but it was a common hour for the caliph

Digitized by Google

or ministers to receive petitions, and transact what may be called the private business of government; after which, riding or attending the open courts, where the young men exercised themselves in manly games, filled the time till sunset, when the evening prayer and ablution preceded the supper; and this was the sociable meal of the Moors. There the learned or the gay met their favourite companions, and conversed, or played chess or backgammon, or drank or listened to music, or were entertained by dancers, according to their dispositions.

Women were seldom seen on these occasions; yet it appears that free ladies were not restricted from going out when they pleased, visiting markets and shops, or going to the mosques, where a place was set apart for them, and they even rode, and attended their husbands and fathers to fowling parties; but they were not allowed to invite strangers to visit them. Their apartments at home were secluded; and though sometimes the intimate friends or relations of their husbands might be admitted, it was rarely, and with great caution, that such liberty was allowed. On great occasions, indeed, such as a mock fight, or those entertainments which were the origin of the Christian tournaments, the ladies were present, and bestowed the rewards on the successful jouster.

Far from being illiterate, as the Mahometan ladies are accused of being now, their minds were highly cultivated; and the school for young women

Digitized by Google

at Seville, opened by the accomplished Miriam, the daughter of Abu Jacub, produced, as the Arab historian says, "many daughters eminent in those graces that formed the delight of the palaces of the princes."

In the winter time the evening parties were more frequent and more regular than in summer. A learned alfaqui of Toledo was accustomed in the months of December and January to assemble thirty or forty men of letters every evening. In the centre of his hall there was a great vase of the height of a man, full of burning charcoal, and all around were spread carpets and cushions of silk and wool, and the walls were lined with figured stuffs. Each sat at the distance he best liked from the fire, and a hisbe or verse from the Koran, or some new or favourite poem, was read and discussed. Meantime perfumes were handed round, and rose-water sprinkled on the guests; after which a table was brought in, on which were various dishes of mutton or kid, and stews, with oil: then followed different preparations of milk boiled or frothed, butter, sweetmeats, and fruit. The drink of such as did not transgress the Koran was sherbet of various kind. The most usual was that like our lemonade; but it was often flavoured with other fruits, besides lemons, and even flowers.

The manly exercises of hawking, hunting, and jousting were not less favourites among the Christians than among the Moors; and the mountainous

Digitized by Google

districts they inhabited led them to a bolder chase. The bear and wolf, the wild boar and the larger deer, were their prey; and the dressed bear-skins from Gallicia vied with the lion-skins from Africa in beauty and value. Commerce flourished under Abdulrahman. His ships visited all the eastern parts of the Mediterranean, and he had so encouraged manufactures, that those of leather at Cordova, and of steel both at Cordova and Toledo, now excelled those of the countries whence he had imported them. A list of the presents offered by the two brothers, Ahmed and Abdulmelic ben Said, on the appointment of the latter to the post of privy councillor, will give an idea of the riches of the Moors at that time.

Four hundred pounds of pure gold of Tibar.

Silver in bars to the amount of four hundred and twenty thousand sequins.

Four hundred pounds of lign-aloes.

Five hundred ounces of amber.

Three hundred ounces of precious camphor.

Thirty pieces of stuff of silk and gold interwoven.

A hundred and ten cloaks of fine ermine from Khorassan.

Forty-eight horse caparisons of cloth of silk and gold, woven at Bagdad.

Four hundred pounds of spun silk.

Thirty Persian carpets.

Eight hundred chamfrons for war-horses, of burnished steel.

Digitized by Google

One thousand shields.

One hundred thousand arrows.

Fifteen Arab horses, of noble race, with rich housings embroidered with gold.

One hundred horses of Spain and Africa, well clothed.

Twenty sumpter mules, with pack-saddles and curtains.

Forty male and twenty female slaves, well matched.

The whole accompanied by an elegant poem in praise of the caliph, by Ahmed ben Said himself.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE DEATH OF ABDULRAHMAN III., A. D. 961, TO THE EXTINCTION OF THE OMEIAD FAMILY, A. D. 1031.



Moorish chief on horseback.

THE ceremony of the proclamation of Alhakem's succession to the throne of Cordova was most magnificent. His brothers and cousins surrounded his throne; next stood the officers of his guards, Andalusians, Sclavonians, and Africans. The hagib and counsellors were in front, and the Sclavonian guard, in double files, stood round the great hall,

Digitized by Google

with their naked swords in one hand and their large shields in the other. The black slaves, clothed in white, with battle-axes on their shoulders, formed two other lines. The outer court was full of the Andalusian and African guards, magnificently clothed and armed, and the white slaves with their swords in their hands. The whole then took the oath of fidelity, beginning with the princes of the royal house.

In the year 963 Alhakem made his algehib or holy war, and advanced into the kingdom of Leon as far as Zamora, which he took. On this occasion he republished the rules which the military were too apt to forget, for such as should engage in war. "All enemies are to be offered their choice of embracing the faith of Mahomet or paying tribute. Unless the enemy be double the number, it is infamous to fly. In entering an enemy's land, the lives of women, children, and solitary hermits are to be respected. If an assurance of safety has once been given, it shall be religiously kept; and the protection granted by one chief shall be respected by all. All booty, after the royal fifth is set apart, shall be divided on the field of battle, or in the camp. The officers shall observe the strictest impartiality in sharing prizes, whatever be the religion of the soldier; and extra services to be in like manner equally rewarded. No man, who has father and mother living, shall go to battle without the permission of both."

Digitized by Google

Very shortly after Alhakem's expedition to Zamora, he received ambassadors from Leon, offering peace; and as he was fond of tranquillity, he readily came to terms with them, and entertained them for some time magnificently in Cordova: on their return he sent a nobleman of his council with them, to bear his letters to the king of Leon, with a present consisting of two beautiful horses, richly caparisoned, excellent swords of Toledo and Cordova, and two of the best bred and trained hawks in Spain.

The same year, 965, was remarkable because the ancient and noble tribe Chazarag emigrated from Medina, and came to settle in Spain in the neighbourhood of Cordova.

At this period the court of Alhakem was crowded with Christian knights from various parts of Spain and France, attracted by the fame of the caliph, his rich and beautiful capital, and the noble and chivalrous young warriors that were brought up in the various parts of his dominions.

Some of the Christian knights also came to seek assistance in the wars they were waging against each other: but Alhakem always answered them in the words of the Koran, "Be faithful to keep your own stations, for God will require an account of them;" and would not engage in warfare that was not for the good of his own kingdom or his faith.

But Africa was far from enjoying the tranquil-

Digitized by Google

lity of Spain. The disturbances which began in the reign of Abdulrahman continued to agitate it. If one adventurer drove another out of Egypt, he in turn came westward, and pushed his neighbour onward till the ocean stopped their progress. Hence Almagrêb, which seems to have extended from Melilla, on the shore of the Mediterranean, to that part of the ocean opposite to the Canary Islands, and to have comprehended at least the countries of Morocco and Fez, was continually disturbed; and its riches rendered it an object of plunder as well as of importance to the caliphs of Spain.

The country is fruitful in corn and cattle, and particularly famous for its horses; the soldiers warlike and faithful, and the people industrious. The Jews long settled there had carried on commerce to a great extent: the neighbourhood of the desert secured to them valuable skins, and ivory, and plumes; the rivers on the coast almost all roll over golden sands, and coral and amber are among the riches of the adjacent seas.

Fez was at this time its capital. It had been built by the Edrisites about a century and a half before, and now their internal distresses, and the invasions they had suffered from the eastward, had placed it in the hands of the caliphs of Cordova.

About the year 973, Alhassan, the viceroy of Fez, attempted to throw off the government of Spain, and to render himself independent in Almagrêb. He had twice defeated the troops sent

Digitized by Google

by Alhakem to reduce him to obedience: the third commander, Ghaleb, was ordered to conquer or die. He accordingly proceeded at once so vigorously with the war, that Alhassan was glad to capitulate, and the whole province immediately submitted to the caliph's lieutenant.

'Ghalib then wrote to Alhakem to beg leave to present Alhassan at Cordova, and that he would confirm the assurance of safety he had granted to him and his family. On receiving permission to bring Alhassan to Spain, he embarked with that chief and all his family, and landed at Algeziras. Thence they proceeded to Cordova, and when they arrived near the place, the caliph ordered his nephew Abdulasiz, who was captain of the Andalusian guard, to ride out to receive them; he himself mounted shortly afterwards, and with the principal noblemen of his court met them at a certain distance from the city. Alhassan dismounted as soon as Alhakem approached, and humbled himself with his attendants; but the caliph gave him his hand, and begged him to mount again, and they rode together to the city. When they approached the gates, Ghalib, by the caliph's desire, placed himself by his side, and thus they rode even to the palace. The concourse of people to witness the scene was prodigious. The caliph assured Alhassan and his attendant shieks of his protection, and assigned each his lodging with some friendly family.

Digitized by Google

The Africans were so charmed with the liberality of the Spanish monarch, that many of them resolved to settle in Cordova, and attach themselves to him. Alhassan, however, soon entreated permission to return to Africa, and this, though unwillingly, Alhakem permitted him to do, only desiring that he should not go to Almagrêb, but offering him ships and safe conduct to Tunis, if he should please. These were thankfully accepted, and with his family and all his great riches he departed; and on taking leave, presented the caliph with a piece of amber of extraordinary bigness, which was found in the Western Ocean.

Shortly after the departure of Alhassan, in order to please the sultana Sobeiha, the caliph declared their son Hachem his successor with great magnificence. There were feasts and mock fights, and competitions in prose and verse by the most celebrated writers in Spain, and prizes in chivalry and in literature were distributed by the caliph and the sultana on this occasion.

One of the last public acts of Alhakem was a survey of the kingdom and a numbering of the people. There were six large cities, the capitals of provinces; eighty exceedingly populous; three hundred of the third class; and the villages, hamlets, towers, and farms, were innumerable. The lands watered by the Guadalquiver alone contained twelve thousand. It was reported that Cordova

Digitized by Google

contained two hundred thousand houses, six hundred mosques, fifty hospitals, eighty public schools, and ninety public baths.

The yearly revenues of the state were twelve millions of mitcales of gold, besides the taxes on produce paid in kind. The gold mines belonging to the king or to private persons produced great sums. Those of Jaen, Bulache, Aroche, and of the mountains near the Tagus in the west of Spain, were very productive. Rubies were found at Beja and at Malaga: coral was fished on the coast of Andalusia, and pearl on that of Tarragona.

Agriculture flourished in the peaceful time of Alhakem; canals of irrigation were constructed throughout the lands of Granada, Murcia, Valencia, and Arragon; reservoirs for the same purposes were formed in many places; and plantations of every kind, suited to the soil and climate, were made in different parts of the kingdom.

The most illustrious knights now took pleasure in cultivating their gardens with their own hands, and all remained, during some portion of the year, in the country. Several tribes, following their natural inclination, and preserving their ancient customs, gave themselves up to a pastoral life, and lived as the Bedouins, changing from province to province, as the pasture might suit their flocks and herds.

This excellent caliph died too soon, although he

Digitized by Google

had reached the age of seventy-three years. A slight illness carried him off at Azahra, in the sixteenth year of his reign, A. D. 976, leaving his throne to a child of ten years of age.

Hachem, the son of Alhakem and Sobeiha, was immediately placed by his mother, a woman of great beauty and discretion, under the care of her secretary, Muhammad, who earned the name of Almanzor, or the Victorious, and who was eminent for his valour and consummate prudence.

The hagib was Giafar ben Othman, highly esteemed by the two last caliphs. He only seemed to envy Almanzor's elevation; for all other classes of men, whether Mussulman or Christian, loved and respected him.

Almanzor perceiving that there was some disposition to rebel among the sheiks, who might each imagine himself entitled to guard the person and dispense the favours of the monarch, resolved to avert the evils of a civil war by declaring an algehib, which he resolved should be annual. For this end he visited the frontiers, disposed the different bodies of troops most conveniently, and making a sudden inroad into Gallicia, wasted the country, seized a good many cattle and made some prisoners.

Almanzor's third algehib was distinguished by a chivalrous occurrence. The two armies being encamped over against one another, a Christian knight, armed cap-a-pee, came out into the space between

Digitized by Google

the hosts on a beautiful horse, and challenged the bravest Moor to break a lance with him. A Moslem knight accordingly sallied forth, and, after an hour's combat, was slain. A second shared the same fate, and then the host set up a shout on the side of the conqueror, while the Moors groaned with indignation. Then said the Christian, "Is there any other infidel who will come out against me? and if one refuses, come ye two or three." Then there went out a stout Moor; but in one or two careers he was unhorsed, and the Christians rent the air with their plaudits. And their knight returned to the camp and changed his horse, and came out with one still more beautiful than the first, and his saddle-cloth was the beautiful skin of a wild beast, and the paws were brought round the horse's neck, and the claws were of gold. Then Almanzor called the chief Mushafa to him, and said, "Seest thou how we are shamed?" "I see it with my eyes," said Mushafa, "and that our Moors are cowards." "Rather say panic-struck," said Almanzor; "but there is the Christian once more challenging us; either thou, my son, or I, must go; for I can suffer this no longer." Then said Mushafa, "Soon shalt thou behold at thy feet his head, together with the precious shaggy saddle-cloth." "I trust so," said Almanzor; "and I promise thee to yield my right to the spoil, that thou mayest ride with pomp to battle when thy good war horse shall wear thy trophy." Then Mushafa

Digitized by Google

went out against the Christian knight, who cried, "Who art thou; and how art thou distinguished among the noble Moors?" and Mushafa, brandishing his lance, exclaimed, "In this is my nobility! this my parentage!" Then began a fierce combat; knight against knight, and horse against horse. At length Mushafa, who was the youngest and lightest of the two, and moreover less fatigued, turned his horse with great dexterity, and wounded the Christian knight mortally, and then spoiling the horse of his precious caparison, and taking the knight's head, he rode back to the camp, where Almanzor received him in his arms, and thanked him for the honour of the Moslem. A general battle now ensued; the Christians were defeated, and the Moors retired, well pleased, into winter quarters.

In the year 982 Almanzor took Zamora, and several neighbouring towns, and levelled their walls with the ground; and although a part of his army was surprised and destroyed by a body of Gallicians, yet the terror of the Christians was such, that many removed their wives and families, and their most precious goods, from Leon, and the cities in the lower parts of the country, to the mountain fastnesses. Almanzor was, indeed, the most cruel and active enemy the Christians had ever had since Muza. In 983 he advanced to Leon, and for five days battered its walls and its brazen gates with machinery of every description. For three days

Digitized by Google

more the inner walls were assaulted. Almanzor himself, with his banner in his hand, was the first who entered, and killing the commander with his own hand, the Moors entered during the consequent disorder about nightfall, and lay upon their arms. In the morning the place was sacked; all who offered resistance were put to death, and the rest were led away captive. Astorga and Salamanca shared the same fate, and the victors' return to Cordova was a triumph.

Almanzor next turned his arms against Barcelona. On his way from the capital he passed through Grenada, Baza, Lorca, and Murcia, where he remained with the cavalry of Cordova, to wait for the coming up of the people of Algarve, and the ships which he had ordered to assemble at that point. He was received on that occasion, with all his followers, by the governor of the place, Ahmed, who for twenty-three days feasted him and all his followers sumptuously. The officers had delicate baths of fresh rose-water every day, and were provided with stately beds of silk and gold tissue, and all were commodiously lodged. On resuming the march, Almanzor said, smilingly, to his host, "I shall take care not to send my men of war here; they, whose rest ought to be in the battle, not on soft cushions: however, it is not right that so splendid a lord should pay tribute like a vulgar vassal, and in the name of my lord, the caliph Hachem, I exempt you from taxes."

Digitized by Google

On approaching the city, Almanzor found Borel, count of Barcelona, ready to receive him; but he was defeated, and fled in the dark by sea; two days afterwards the place capitulated.

Meantime Abdelmelic, the eldest son of Almanzor, had made a successful expedition into Africa, and had rebuilt the mosque at Fez, and placed two talismans in it, one against rats, and the other against scorpions; so that neither of those noxious creatures ever troubled the mosque.

The year 995 was perhaps the most mortifying to the Christians that had yet occurred. Almanzor advanced even to the famous city of Santiago. The riches of the church had been carried to some place of security; but he burned the church itself, and sent its bells to serve as lamps in one of the courts of the palace of Cordova. He took one thousand noble youths and damsels prisoners, besides ordinary people, and returned to Cordova with a greater booty than on any preceding occasion.

In a great battle that followed this inroad, the count of Asturias, Garcia Fernandez, wounded, fell into Amanzor's hands; and, notwithstanding the care of his captor and the skill of the surgeons, he died a few days afterwards. Meantime his family deputed some knights with presents, to ransom him if alive, or his body if dead. But Almanzor refused the ransom, and presented them with the body, which he had deposited in a beautifully wrought coffin, with aromatics to preserve it, and

Digitized by Google

covered with cloth of scarlet and gold, in order to restore it to those to whom it belonged.

This circumstance seemed to open a prospect of peace, and Bermudo sent accordingly to propose terms for a truce at least; but they were not satisfactory to Almanzor, and the state of war continued. But the brilliant career of that chief was drawing to a close. In a desperate battle fought in the year 1001, near Medina Celi, he was wounded, and dropping off his horse after the battle was over, was carried to Walcorari, where he died. His son, Abdelmelic, arrived in time to see him expire, and conveyed him to Medina Celi to bury. He was interred in his usual clothes, as one who was in the execution of his duty; and he was covered in his coffin with the precious dust which he had shaken off his garment in fifty battles against the Christians, and which he had carefully preserved in a box which he had always carried with him into every action.

His sepulchre was handsome, and on it were engraven verses of the following tenor:

He is no more: but there remain in the world
So many memorials of his high deeds,
That thou may'st, astonish'd, know him
Such as if thou saw'st him this day present.
He was such, as that the eternal succession
Of ages can never give another equal,
Who thus, by victorious wars, shall increase
And protect the people of Ishmael.

Digitized by Google

He had governed the state with glory twenty-five years. The imbecility of the caliph had left all power in his hand, yet he never abused it. No civil war or internal vexation troubled the state; agriculture and commerce flourished; he protected learned men, and himself was reckoned among their number. His death spread a general mourning over Cordova and the rest of the nation, and it was long before the people ceased to lament his loss.

By the advice of the sultana Sobeiha, her son Hachem gave to Abdelmelic the post his father had so worthily occupied, and his conduct showed that he deserved the distinction. His inroads on Gallicia were fortunate for four years. On one occasion he took possession of Leon, and that portion of the walls that was left standing by his father was destroyed by him. After this, he made a truce with Bermudo for three years, at the request of Abdalla, governor of Toledo, a cousin of the caliph. The governor had, in one of his inroads into Castile, taken prisoner a beautiful girl, to whom he became passionately attached; but discovering that she was a sister of the king's, who was anxious to recover her, and that she was miserable in her imprisonment, he released her, and a number of young ladies, her companions, without any ransom. This simple fact has been converted into a miracle by the monkish writers. They relate, that the princess had been given in marriage, as the price of

Digitized by Google

peace, to Abdalla; but that, not being able to convert him, and abhorring a union with an unbeliever, she made him understand that, like St. Cecilia, an angel stood between herself and him, and the awe-struck Moor resigned her and her companions. She retired to a convent.—The war was renewed on the expiration of the truce; but Abdelmelic was taken ill shortly afterwards, and died at Cordova, in the seventh year of his government, in 1008.

Unfortunately for the caliph, he had, in this interval, lost his mother, whose prudent counsels had so well directed the choice of his governors. His own will was quite subservient to that of those around him, and he accordingly named to the important office of hagib, Abderahman, the brother of his last minister, and son of the great Almanzor: but he was in nothing but his personal bravery worthy of them, being addicted to pleasure, and unaccustomed to business. Being captain of the guards, he enjoyed the greatest intimacy with Hachem, and it was hoped that he might possess influence to benefit the country; but he attempted to use it for his personal aggrandisement, ruined himself, and laid the foundation of much evil to the government. The caliph had no son, and Abderahman ventured to insinuate that it was one of the regal privileges to name a successor, and what successor could be so fit as the son of Almanzor, the champion and favourite of the people? This

Digitized by Google

offended the princes of the royal house, who all thought they had a stronger right to the guardianship of the person of their relation, especially if it were to involve the succession to the throne.

Mussulman Spain was, accordingly, soon involved in all the horrors of a civil war. Mahomed ben Hachem, of the house of Omeia, was the first to take up arms; he soon obtained possession of the person of the caliph, and the unfortunate hagib, Abderahman, was taken and crucified. Mahomed succeeded to his power, and was declared successor to the kingdom. By imprudently banishing the Zanete guard, the most ancient defenders of the Omeiads, he drew on him the enmity of that powerful body; and Cordova, attacked by Suleiman, one of their leaders, was taken and retaken, more than once, before Mahomed assumed the title of caliph. To make way for himself on the throne, he gave out, that Hachem had died in the palace, and made a mock funeral for him. But, in truth, the feeble prince still lived, but in obscure retirement, under the care of a faithful domestic. Mahomed was now prayed for under the name of Mehedi Billah; but his enjoyment of the empire was short. Perceiving the instability of his situation, he endeavoured to engage the assistance of the Christians; and, to obtain it, agreed to give up six of the towns conquered by Almanzor. Suleiman endeavoured to do the same; so that both Moors and Christians were engaged on both sides. A third adventurer

Digitized by Google

arose in the person of Wadh Alameri, to whom the caliph Hachem owed the preservation of his life: and now that Mehedi and Suleiman were engaged in disputing the throne, he drew Hachem out of his prison, and proclaimed him anew, to the great pleasure of the people of Cordova, who loved him for the sake of his ancestors and his own innocent character. Shortly after this, Mehedi fell into the power of Alameri, who cut off his head and sent it to Suleiman. That bad man, however, only made use of the additional power he acquired by Mehedi's death to destroy Hachem, who was never heard of after Suleiman's entrance to Cordova, and assumption of the title of caliph, and was, therefore, probably murdered.

For seven years that the civil war had lasted the harvests had been destroyed, and the ground latterly remained untilled. Famine ensued, plague followed, and the people loudly murmured against their rulers. And now two brothers, descendants of the house of Ali, one of whom had been governor of Ceuta, and the other of Algeziras, assembled a force in western Africa. Ali ben Hamed, the elder of these brothers, assisted by the count of Castile, got possession of Cordova, and examined every building, nay every cellar, in search of the lost Hachem, but in vain, and Ali ben Hamed seated himself on the throne. The first act of his reign was to put to death Suleiman, with all his family, as traitors to the caliph Hachem; Ali was, how-

Digitized by Google

ever, in a very few months suffocated in the bath; and the same year, 1017, Abdulrahman IV., great-grandson of Abdulrahman III., was called to the throne by the chief men of the kingdom, who were tired of the ceaseless changes and the attendant evils of the last eight years.

This Abdulrahman was surnamed Almortadi, he was governor of Jaen, and noted for his virtue and liberality. The people conceived great hopes of tranquillity from his character, and they loved the house of Omeia. Meantime Alcassim ben Hamed had been declared in Seville, and some other places, successor to his brother Ali, and Ali's son Yahye had arrived from Africa to claim the crown as his father's heir, displaced his uncle, and was in turn driven out by him. The uncle and nephew, however, agreed to unite their arms against Abdulrahman Almortadi, but were beaten, and the victory remained with the partisans of the Omeia. But he himself, whose character seemed to promise a blessing to Spain, was wounded in the battle by an arrow, and died at the moment a messenger announced to him his victory.

The council of state had assembled at Cordova to welcome Almortadi on his victory; but on hearing of his death they named another Abdulrahman, equally near to the caliph Hachem in blood, and the brother of Mehedi. He had all the external beauty of the Omeias; he was learned and eloquent; but of a temper too austere for the times;

Digitized by Google

the soldiers exclaimed that he was fitter for a hermitage than a throne. He was killed in an insurrection of the troops, whose disorders he had attempted to reform, and who proclaimed his cousin Mahomed in his stead. His treasures, for he was immensely rich, were prodigally distributed among the people, to purchase their support. He gave privileges to the nobles, and immunities to his guards; but he failed of securing popularity, and in a very short time he was forced to fly from Cordova to the castle of Ucles near Toledo, where he was very well received by the commander; but soon after died, as it was said, poisoned.

Yahye ben Ali now returned from Africa and resumed the government. He was a man whom the people loved and depended on, and his death in battle, near Cordova, caused a general grief.

The divan then met, and chose another of the Omeiads, Hachem, the elder brother of Abdulrahman Almortadi, whose accession in the year 1029 gratified the people; and his activity and conduct seemed to promise a renovation of the glories of the house of Omeia. The spirit of disaffection was, however, too deeply rooted among the various shieks and governors; the indulgences which each of the late caliphs had granted the troops had rendered them insolent, and Hachem III. had scarcely reigned two years when he was deposed. When the news of his deposition came to him he calmly said, "Thank Heaven! they

Digitized by Google

have removed from me the burden they themselves imposed." He immediately left the city with his family, escorted by a strong and faithful guard, and accompanied by some men of letters whom he had attached to him in the days of his prosperity. He went to the fortress of Hasn Abi Xarif, which he had built, and passed the six last years of his life in tranquillity and honour; showing by the dignity with which he bore the loss of his crown how worthy he had been to wear it.

Far different was the feeling of a youth of the same family, who now offered himself as a competitor for the throne of Cordova, and who said to the electors, "Let me reign to-day, though you behead me to-morrow." But the sun of the Omeias was set. The Moors believed that their evil destiny had now the ascendant over their fortunes, and refused to confer the government on another of the house of Meruan.

Thus ended the dominion of the family of the first great Abdulrahman ben Moavia, which had reigned two hundred and seventy-six years in Cordova, and which, at a time when the rest of Europe was plunged in the darkest ignorance and barbarism, had made Spain the abode of learning and elegance.

We must now look back a few years to the affairs of Leon. Don Bermudo II., surnamed the Gouty, had succeeded his cousin Ramiro III. As his reign extended from 982 to 999, he witnessed

Digitized by Google

and suffered most of the destructive campaigns of the hagib Almansor. Castile was divided by a domestic quarrel. Gonzalo Gustro, lord of Salas de Lara, was descended from the ancient counts of Castile. He had married donna Sancha, the sister of the noble Ruy Velasquez, lord of Villaren, and by her had seven sons, who were all knighted in one day. They were commonly known as the Infantes of Lara, and were famous for their prowess and accomplishments. Ruy Velasquez married a lady of Briviesca, called donna Lambra; and it happened that at the marriage, which was celebrated at Burgos, Gonzalo, the youngest of the infants of Lara, had a slight dispute with a relation of the lady, called Alvar Sanchez; but thought nothing of it, until at Barbadillo, to which place the brothers had accompanied her, she, resenting the matter, ordered one of her slaves to throw a gourd full of blood at Gonzalo. This, according to the old Spanish manners, was the greatest outrage that could be committed. The slave was instantly put to death, notwithstanding the presence of his mistress.

Ruy Velasquez, who had been absent at the moment, irritated at the double insult offered to his bride, resolved from that moment on the destruction of the house of Lara. He caused the father to be sent to Cordova on a supposed message from the king, but in reality with a request that the caliph would put him to death. But the Moor disdained to murder an old man who was in his

Digitized by Google

power, and let him go. His sons were not so fortunate; they were waylaid by the contrivance of Ruy Velasquez, and died altogether, defending one another. Fifteen years afterwards a youth of the same family fell upon the murderer, and revenged their death; and as for donna Lambra, the first cause of all the disorder, she was first stoned by the people, and then burnt.

The chief events of Bermudo's reign have been already mentioned in the history of Almansor. He died 999 of the gout, and left a daughter by his first wife, Velasquita, whom he divorced, two sons by his second wife, Elvira, and two daughters and a son, born before he became king.

Bermudo II. was succeeded by his son Alonzo V.: his long minority was skilfully guided by his foster parents Melendo Gonzalez, count of Gallicia, and his wife donna Mayor, whose daughter donna Elvira in process of time he married, and by whom he had two children, don Bermudo and donna Sancha. Towards the end of Alonzo's reign, the kingdom began to recover from the miserable effects of the inroads of Almansor. Alonzo rebuilt the walls of Leon; and at a general meeting of the cortes at Oviedo, he confirmed the ancient Gothic laws, and made some additions adapted to the circumstances of the times. He was killed in 1028, by an arrow from the walls of Visco, which city he was laying siege to. His body was conveyed to Leon, and there buried. In the same

Digitized by Google

year died don Sancho of Castile, who had governed that province twenty-two years.

Don Bermudo III. succeeded his father don Alonzo; he never had any children, a circumstance which induced don Sancho el Mayor, king of Navarre, to procure the marriage of donna Sancha, the king's sister, with his second son don Fernando. Sancho el Mayor was already count of Castile by inheritance through a female. Taking advantage of the civil dissensions of the Moors, he had enlarged the limits of his dominions, both by stratagem and force; and at his death, in 1035, the greater part of Christian Spain was in his hands. He left Navarre and Biscay to don Garcia, his eldest son. Don Fernando had Castile in right of his mother, donna Nunia, and changed the title of count of Castile for that of king. Don Gonzalo occupied Sobrarve and Ribagorza, and don Ramiro received the kingdom of Arragon. Such was the division of Christian Spain at the moment of the extinction of the Omeiad caliphs of Cordova.



Ornamental Moorish inscription.

Digitized by Google

Table of the Caliphs of Cordova.

	A. D.	Years of Hegira.
Abdulrahman I. . . .	756	138
Hachem I.	788	172
Alhakem I.	796	180
Abdulrahman II. . . .	822	206
Muhammad I. . . .	852	238
Almondhir	886	273
Abdala	889	276
Abdulrahman III. . . .	912	300
Alhakem II. . . .	961	350
Hachem II.	976	366
Muhammad II., surnamed Mehedi Bila	1006	396
Suleiman Almostam Bila . .	1009	399
Hachem II., a second time . .	1012	402
Ali ben Hamud . . .	1015	406
Abdulrahman IV. . . .	1017	408
Alcassim ben Hamud . .	1017	408
Yahye ben Ali . . .	1018	409
Abdulrahman V. Almostadir Billah .	1027	418
Muhammad III. . . .	1027	418
Yahye ben Ali, a second time .	1029	420
Hachem III. el Motad Billa .	1031	422

Digitized by Google



Prince and princess in pavilion.

If the reign of Alhakem was not quite so brilliant as that of his father Abdulrahman, it was at least as happy for the people, for it was generally passed in peace. We have mentioned the encouragement given by him to agriculture and the useful ordinary arts of life.

He was no less diligent in the promotion of science and learning; though after he became caliph he bestowed less time on the cultivation of letters, that he might devote himself to the weightier affairs

Digitized by Google

of the state. As a proof of his anxiety for the improvement of his people, it is recorded, that, in the year 967, rabbi Moses and rabbi Enoch his son, having been taken by pirates, and sold as slaves in Cordova, were redeemed by their brethren, who established a school in the capital, of which rabbi Moses was made teacher. He, after some time, wishing to return to the East, Alhakem induced him to remain, granting him every indulgence with regard to the worship of his people, and rejoicing that his Hebrew subjects had masters of their own religion at home, to obviate the necessity of sending their youth abroad for instruction. They had been accustomed to go to Babylon, where there were academies supported by subscription, under the eldership of the family Gaon; but about this period a persecution of the Jews having taken place at Babylon, the sons of Gaon fled to Spain, and their college was transferred to Cordova, whence a number of Hebrew poets sprung, whose works have been noticed by various writers.

About this period the various translations from the books of science of the Greeks, made in the East by the school of the learned Honain, were brought into Spain: the writings of Aristotle and Plato, Euclid, Apollonius, Ptolemy, Hippocrates, and Galen, became familiar to the Moorish students; many treatises, now lost in the original, were preserved in the Arab versions. The philo-

Digitized by Google

sophy of Aristotle was that taught in the Moorish colleges in Spain, and by them transmitted to the rest of Europe. Geometry, algebra, and astronomy were studied with success. The astronomical tables constructed in Spain, and founded on careful observations, corrected some errors of the ancients, though their use was debased by a mixture of the vain pretences of astrology. Medicine was cultivated with the greatest diligence. We have noticed the visit of Sancho the Fat to Cordova, where he was cured of a long standing disease. Al Berthar, of Malaga, a learned botanist, had travelled into Africa, Persia, and India. Chemistry was practised, and alchymy was pursued. The Saracens first invented the alembic for distillation, ascertained the distinctions and affinities of alcalies and acids, and from poisonous minerals extracted efficient medicines.

Yet while the books of natural philosophy were thus received and prized, the literature of Greece and Rome were neglected. Homer was not translated, nor were the delightful histories of the Grecian states and heroes known to the Moors. Literature is in its nature free and inquiring, and scarcely bears even the burden of patronage. Science more patiently submits to the protection of a master, and is more easily made available to the purposes of civil government. Hence the jealousy with which absolute monarchs have always regarded

Digitized by Google

literature, and the encouragement which they have bestowed on pure science.

The literature of the Arabs themselves was confined to the chronicles of the dynasties of Persia and Arabia, wild tales of romance and enchantment, and poems, amatory or mystical. At the competition of the poets on the accession of Alhakem, the prize was carried off by Ismael ben Badr, of Seville, afterwards tale-teller or novelist to the caliph. His office was to amuse the court with "stories of feats of arms, and loves with very strange adventures, in an elegant style."

The Moors always delighted in graceful speaking; and an elegant delivery, particularly in preaching, was highly prized; and sometimes in private recitations the prose was relieved by verses sung, and not unfrequently accompanied by the lute, harp, or guitar; and such amusements were frequent at weddings and other family festivals.

We have a short account of the marriage of Abdelmelic, the son of Almansor, with his cousin, which was celebrated in the gardens of the villa Almeria, a royal gift to the bridegroom. "All the nobility of Cordova was at the feast; the lovely bride was conducted in triumph through the principal streets of the city, accompanied by all the damsels who were friends of the family, preceded and followed by the cadis and the witnesses, the lords, sheiks, and knights of the city. The damsels,

Digitized by Google

armed with rods of ivory and gold, guarded the entrance of the pavilion of the bride all day; when evening came, the bridegroom, accompanied by the noble youths of his house, armed with gilt maces, won his entrance in spite of the brave defence of the damsels. All the gardens were illuminated, and in all the groves, at every fountain, and in the boats on the clear lakes, gentle music was heard, and the praises of the new-married couple were the burdens of the songs. The music and verses lasted until the next dawn, and the rejoicings continued all the following day. On this occasion Almansor gave new clothing and armour to his guards, distributed much alms to the hospitals and poor's-houses, gave dowries to the poor orphan girls of his congregation, and rich presents to the poets who composed the verses in praise of his children."

Such were the ceremonies at the nuptials of the Moors. They imitated with splendour the usual practice of the Arabs, who all pretend to carry off their brides by force, as if the relations were unwilling to part with their child.

The ceremony of naming an infant was more simple. On the evening of the seventh day after its birth, a fatted lamb, or sheep, or calf, was killed, and on the eighth day, the whole family being assembled, ate of it, and distributed what remained to the poor. Before the feast, the father or grandfather, if there was one, invoking the name of God,

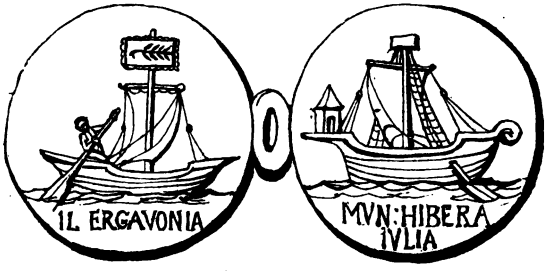
Digitized by Google

whispered into the infant's ear the name it was to bear in after life. Rich persons weighed their hair, and gave the value of the weight in gold or silver to the poor.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE DEATH OF SANCHO III., KING OF NAVARRE, A. D. 1035, TO THAT OF ALONZO VI., SURNAMED THE BRAVE, KING OF CASTILE AND LEON, A. D. 1109.



Roman medal.



Coin of Sancho.

ABOUT this period the history of Spain becomes extremely complicated. The great kingdom of Cordova being broken up, the chiefs of the different Arab tribes made kingdoms for themselves

Digitized by Google

in the various provinces of the peninsula. Cordova still held the principal rank among the divided states; Seville, Toledo, Zaragoza, Huesca, Granada, and Malaga, with the African province, were the next in importance; but there were a number of petty towns, in which either the chief magistrates or the military governors endeavoured to render themselves independent. The mutual quarrels in which the Moors were necessarily engaged by this state of things gave room for the Christians gradually to extend the limits of their dominions. The improvements of Christian Europe, which began in the eleventh century, slowly extended to Leon and Navarre. The spirit that produced the expeditions to the Holy Land led some of the crusaders into Spain to aid the Christians of that country against the Moors, who professed the same faith as the Saracens in Palestine; and if on one side the Moslem were never backward in an algehib or holy war, for the purpose of spreading their faith, neither were the Christians, under the sign of the cross, indifferent to the interests of religion in the wars they waged to recover the territory of their ancestors. But every knight who won a town from the Moors considered it as his own; and the kings of Leon and of Arragon were content, if he acknowledged them as superior lords, to allow him the government of the place which he had delivered from the common enemy. Hence arose the various Christian kingdoms and counties

Digitized by Google

of Spain, whose internal wars often injured the common cause, not only by retarding the recovery of the country which the union of all might have effected, but by calling in the Mahometan chiefs and allowing them to share in the spoil of rival Christians. Nor was the custom of dividing a kingdom among several children less mischievous in its consequences, as it opened the door for disputes and wars, generally more cruel, as the causes which excited them were the nearer home.

Sancho III. of Navarre committed the great error of leaving his estates portioned out among his four sons. Don Garcia, the eldest, had Navarre and Biscay, with all that lies between the town of Najara and the mountains of Oca. Don Ferdinand inherited his mother's patrimony of Castile, and was the first who assumed the title of king of that province. Don Gonzalo had Sobrarve and Ribagorza; and Ramirez received the mountainous kingdom of Arragon. Bermudo III., whose only sister, donna Sancha, had married don Ferdinand of Castile, reigned in Leon, which kingdom then comprehended part of Old Castile, the provinces of Gallicia, and all that part of Portugal not possessed by the Moors.

Berenger Borrel, with the title of count, reigned in Barcelona. He greatly enlarged his territories, and rendered several of the petty Moorish princes tributary to him.

On the final fall of the Omeiad princes of Cordova, the divan assembled to choose a successor,

Digitized by Google

and the election fell on Gehwar ben Muhammad ben Gehwar, a man of high birth and of great prudence and virtue. He appears, indeed, to have possessed singular moderation, and a mind enlightened beyond the age in which he lived, or the sect to which he belonged.

No sooner had the oath of allegiance to him been taken, than he established a new form of government. He called upon all the principal nobles and magistrates to form a council or senate, reserving to himself only the presidency of that council. Before he took possession of the regal palaces he removed the troops of guards that had been so offensive to the people, and ordered every thing in the state with the greatest economy. He banished all informers and stirrers up of law-suits, and established a certain number of advocates, who, like the judges, were to receive a fixed salary for conducting the public business. He also banished, to the great benefit of the people, the quack doctors and ignorant practitioners of medicine, who, without real science, pretended to cure disorders; and established a college in Cordova, where all who took upon them to practise physic and to attend the hospitals were bound to be examined. He laboured incessantly to secure abundance of provisions, especially corn, for the people; and caused all receivers of taxes and customs to account annually for the sums passing through their hands to the senate. In his time a strict police preserved peace in the city, and the people blessed a reign

Digitized by Google

during which the merchants and artificers grew rich.

In Seville, Muhammad ben Ismael ben Abed Abul Cassim had rendered himself independent; but being attacked by the neighbouring Mahometan chiefs, he feigned that he had discovered the lost Hachem II., the grandson of the great Abdulrahman, whose death had never been proved, in the person of an old miserable captive in Seville; and hoping to avail himself of the love he trusted the people still bore to the memory of the Omeiads, he declared Hachem II. caliph in Seville, and assumed the title of his viceroy. Finding, however, that the well-known imbecility of that monarch had rendered the nation totally indifferent to his existence, he published some letters, said to have been written by that unfortunate prince, in which he appointed him his successor. A considerable party in the south of Spain, who were attached to the race of the caliphs, believed in the reality of these letters; and though they had shown little eagerness to continue the reign of Hachem himself, they willingly adopted Abul Cassim as his lawful successor, and he reigned in Seville until the year 1042, when he was succeeded by his son Aben Abed, called Almoabded, who was afterwards deeply engaged both in peace and war with the Christians.

Nearly about the same time died Gehwar of Cordova, deeply regretted by his people. He was succeeded by his son Muhammad, in all respects

Digitized by Google

worthy of him. He was forced against his consent to keep up a war with the king of Toledo; but he himself remained in the capital, where his presence, as head of the council, was most necessary.

Suleiman ben Hud, and his son and successor Giafer, kings of Zaragoza, were fully employed in the meantime in opposing the attacks of their Christian neighbours, to whose history we must now return.

No sooner was don Garcia in possession of his kingdom of Navarre, than he set out for Rome to accomplish a vow he had made during his father's lifetime. His brother, don Ramirez of Arragon, considering the occasion favourable for making himself master of Navarre, formed an alliance with Suleiman, king of Zaragoza, and other Moorish chiefs, entered the lands of Navarre, and besieged Tafalla, a very considerable place.

Meantime Garcia returned from his pilgrimage, and hastily collecting his forces, fell suddenly on the besiegers, and forced them to fly with disgrace. Ramirez took refuge in the states of Sobrarve, which he had, two years before, united to his own by the choice of the people, on the death of his brother Gonzalo.

The kingdoms of Castile and Leon were not more tranquil. Bermudo III., whose sister had, against his consent, been married to Ferdinand of Castile by Sancho of Navarre, resented the marriage, and at the same time dreaded the power and ambition

Digitized by Google

of Ferdinand, who openly pretended to the succession of Leon in right of his wife donna Sancha. He therefore assembled all his forces and attacked Ferdinand, who marched to oppose him, on the banks of the Carrion, near the town of Lemtada. An obstinate battle ensued, and only ended by the death of Bermudo, who was pierced by a spear in the thickest of the fight, and instantly died. In him expired the last male descendant of the ancient Gothic kings of Spain. Their race in the female line may still be traced in the Spanish kings.

Ferdinand immediately proceeded to Leon, where he was crowned by the bishop don Fernando, king of Leon, being the first who united the crowns of Castile and Leon. His first act was to turn his arms against the Moors in the north of Portugal. He gained from them, partly by conquest, partly by treaty, the important places of Viseo and Coimbra with their dependencies.

A curious legend, which proves the superstition of the times, is related concerning the siege of Coimbra. A Greek bishop, who in his own country had ridiculed the stories told by Spanish pilgrims of the apparitions of Santiago in front of their armies engaged against the Moors, was visited by the saint in a dream, who reproved him for his unbelief, and told him that he was at that time interested for his faithful Spaniards at the siege of Coimbra, and that at that very hour the place would be given up. The bishop, on waking,

Digitized by Google

set out for Spain to see if Santiago had really delivered the place to the Christian army, and finding that they took possession of it at the precise hour of his dream, he became the most devout of all Santiago's votaries.

Ferdinand then threatened the lands of Toledo; but on the king promising to pay tribute, and presenting him with a great sum in gold and silver, he concluded a truce with him, and turned his attention to his domestic affairs.

Proud of his conquests over the Moors, and of the extent of his Christian dominions, he sought to distinguish himself by a title higher than that of his contemporaries, and took upon him the style of emperor. This attracted the attention of Henry II., emperor of Germany, who, as the successor of Honorius, pretended to the supremacy over all the provinces of the western empire; and in the council of Florence, held by Pope Victor II., the countryman of Henry, he openly complained that the kings of Spain held themselves exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire, and that Ferdinand had even assumed the title of emperor.

Messengers were consequently sent to Spain to demand obedience to the empire and to the holy see under pain of excommunication. Ferdinand, perplexed at the occurrence, assembled the cortes of his kingdom. On one hand the nobles deprecated the idea of acknowledging the superiority of any foreign monarch; on the other, surrounded by

Digitized by Google

infidels as they were, they dreaded the indignation of the head of the church. The assembly had debated some days without coming to any determination, when the king sent to Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, well known both in history and romance as the Cid, to join the council. That brave man instantly adopted the boldest measure, saying that the Germans were surely mocking them in demanding submission from a nation which had long ago won its entire independence from the Romans—a nation whose warriors would rather die as brave men than acknowledge a foreign master, now that they had freed themselves from the Moorish yoke; that he could not think the ears of their holy father the pope would be shut against their just representations; and that, for his part, he would maintain with his sword, that all were traitors who, from scruples of conscience, or any other motive, should propose submission to any foreign master; and that those who stood for freedom should be his dearest friends, and those who opposed it his mortal foes.

An answer, refusing to submit to their demands, was accordingly sent to the pope and the emperor; and to maintain it, an army was raised, consisting of ten thousand men, besides the tributary Moors. Under the Cid and other chiefs it passed the Pyrenees, and encamped near Thoulouse, which was still intimately connected with Spain. There a council awaited the return of the envoy from Flo-

Digitized by Google

rence; and after some altercation, Henry II. gave up his pretensions; but the popes took advantage of the occurrence to obtain larger contributions from the Spanish churches.

The Cid, Rodrigo Diaz, lord of Bivar, whose counsels had such weight in the cortes, was a man of such extraordinary prowess in war, and politic judgment in matters of government, that his name was celebrated in the songs and romances both of the Spaniards and Moors for ages; and because of that celebrity some historians have doubted of his existence. It is, however, certain that such a hero lived at that time; and though the rhyming chronicles tell many incredible stories of him they call *the perfect one*, there is enough of inequality in his character, as we shall have occasion to see, to render his existence probable, even were there not the proofs we have of its reality. The first mention made of Rodrigo Diaz is strictly in character with the manners of the times. His father, Diego Laynez, descended from the ancient judges of Castile, was insulted by Don Gomez, the lord of Gormaz, from whom he received a blow. Now Diego was old and unable to take the vengeance due to his honour, deeply wounded by that blow: therefore his son Rodrigo fought with Gomez and killed him, and brought his head to his father, who, from the day he had received the blow, had neither eat, nor slept, nor lifted up his eyes for

Digitized by Google

shame. Old Diego, when he saw that head, blessed his son, and set him at table above him, and considered the redeemer of his honour from that day as the head of his house.

After this Rodrigo subdued in battle five Moorish kings, and caused them to pay tribute to him, but set them at liberty; wherefore they served him faithfully, and called him their cid or lord.

Now it happened that Gomez, whom Rodrigo Diaz slew, had one daughter unmarried, named Ximena. She was young and beautiful, and since the death of her father unprotected. She therefore petitioned the king that he would do her justice, and either execute Rodrigo for killing her father, or give him to her for a husband. The king chose the latter, and Rodrigo received Ximena at Fernando's hands, and took her to his mother, who kept her as her own child, and they were betrothed; but Rodrigo promised to gain many battles against the Moors before he would claim her as his wife.

The Mahometan kings of Toledo and Cordova were still at war. The latter had allied himself with the lords of Seville and Badajoz, but their troops were all defeated by those of Toledo and Valencia near the rio Algodor. On this, prince Abdelmelic, son of the king of Cordova, instantly rode from that city to Seville, to entreat the personal assistance of the king, who accordingly marched towards Cordova, which he found closely

Digitized by Google

besieged by Dylnûn, king of Toledo. A fierce battle was the immediate consequence, in which the Toledans and Valencians were put to flight: but while the people of Cordova were busy plundering the enemy's camp, their ally the king of Seville's troops entered the city, and took possession of it. The king of Cordova, seeing himself thus betrayed, died of a broken heart, and his son, in returning from the pursuit of the enemy, was taken and imprisoned in a tower, where he also shortly expired.

In the year 1060 died the king of Valencia, Almanzor, grandson of the great Almanzor. He was succeeded by his son Almudafar, who had married a daughter of the king of Toledo: but having refused to join his father-in-law against Aben Abed, the powerful king of Seville and Cordova, he was dispossessed by him, and banished to Xelba, while the kingdom of Valencia was annexed to that of Toledo.

Granada and Malaga were added to the crown of Seville, but no advantage was gained in the south for the general cause of Mahomet. In the north it was prosperous under Giaffer of Zaragoza, who recovered Balbastro, and several other fortresses; and by the assistance of the Castilians had won a victory over the kings of Navarre and Arragon, when the latter was killed.

Meanwhile the death of don Fernando, king of Castile and Leon, had produced a new division of

Digitized by Google

the kingdoms. His end was characteristic. He had undertaken an expedition against the Moors; but before he reached the frontiers he fell ill, and believed that St. Isidore appeared to him, and summoned him to death. He therefore returned to Leon, and having repaired to the high altar in the church of St. Isidore, where he had prepared his own tomb, he pulled off his crown and royal robes, and laid aside his sceptre, and confessed himself, and said aloud, before all the people, "Thou, Lord, art above kings, and all are subject unto thee: thine is the power, thine the command: the kingdom thou gavest me I restore; and I pray thee, of thy clemency, to receive me into the light eternal." He then received extreme unction, and put on a coarse robe and sprinkled ashes on his head, and died on St. John's day. He was an able man and a good prince, and had much advanced the cause of the Christians in Spain, both by arms and policy. He was not negligent of learning, and caused both his sons and daughters to be carefully instructed in the things that were advantageous for them. His wife, donna Sancha, who survived him two years, was a woman of spirit and discretion, of great piety, a good mother, and much beloved by the people.

The mistaken policy of dividing the kingdom among the princes of the royal family was pursued by don Fernando, though he had suffered from the evils consequent on it in the early part of his own

Digitized by Google

reign. He bequeathed Castile, with the conquered part of Navarre, to his eldest son, Don Sancho; to don Alonzo the kingdom of Leon, with Campos, and part of Asturias, besides some towns of Gallicia; and to don Garcia, Gallicia and the conquered part of Portugal. These all assumed the title of kings. To his two daughters he left towns called infantazgos, or portions for the infantas. Donna Urraca, the eldest, received Zamora, and donna Elvira the town of Toro.

Don Sancho, surnamed the Strong, openly expressed his discontent at the partition of the kingdom, and it was plain that he wanted only an opportunity to seize the estates of his brothers and sisters; but ere he had leisure to collect forces for that purpose, he himself was attacked by Sancho, king of Navarre, and Ramirez, king of Arragon. By the assistance of the Moorish king of Zaragoza he overcame them both, when Ramirez was killed, as has been already mentioned, and was succeeded by his son, Sancho Ramirez, whom the Mahometans call *ben Rodmir*, and celebrate as a warlike prince. In fact, he recovered Balbastro from the king of Zaragoza, and removed the episcopal see of Roses thither. In the year 1076 he anuexed the kingdom of Navarre to that of Arragon. He was, perhaps, one of the most active and determined princes of his time, and was constantly engaged in warfare; generally against the Mahometans, and but seldom against Christian princes, unless they

Digitized by Google

were in alliance with the Moors. He married Felicia, daughter of the count of Urgel, by whom he had three sons, who all became kings of Arragon. He is said to have discontinued the Gothic laws, and to have introduced the Roman code into Arragon; and he and his father laboured to substitute the Romish for the Gothic ritual in their states.

Meanwhile don Sancho of Castile was making war with various success against his brothers. The first he attacked was don Alonzo, whom he defeated at Plantaca, and forced to retire to Leon, where, however, he soon raised a fresh army, and renewing the war, overcame Sancho on the banks of the Carrion; but the Cid coming up to the assistance of the king of Castile, retrieved the fortune of the day, and Alonzo took refuge in the church of Carrion, whence he was taken and carried to Burgos. At the intercession of his sister, donna Urraca, whom he loved as a mother, he was allowed to retire to the monastery of Sahagun, where he was forced to take on him the monastic habit; but Urraca, fearing that his life was not safe even there, furnished him with the means of escape, and he took refuge with Almamûn, the Moorish king of Toledo, who had been a firm ally of his father, don Fernando.

Almamûn received him most hospitably, and assigned him a noble dwelling near his own palace; so that he could apply to him on all occasions fami-

Digitized by Google

liarly. It was, moreover, near one of the Christian churches of Toledo. Don Alonzo appears to have been of an amiable disposition, and became a favourite among the Moorish nobles for his gallant bearing in war, and the perfection with which he possessed all knightly accomplishments. While residing with the king of Toledo, Alonzo enjoyed all princely pleasures. He had been joined by some noble Christians, retainers of his sister Urraca, and his household consisted of those of his own nation and belief. They enjoyed the diversions of hunting and hawking, and Alonzo often partook with his Moorish friends of their more tranquil amusements in the royal gardens. It is said, that one day that he was lying on a green turf in the shade, king Almamûn and his courtiers, not perceiving him, sat down under a locust-tree, and began to discourse of the strength of the city, and of the possibility of taking it, when just as one old captain had declared that nothing but cutting off the provisions, and laying the country around waste, would do, they perceived Alonzo lying asleep. They instantly proposed to Almamûn to put him to death lest he should have heard, and at some future time should avail himself of his knowledge, and so take the place from the Moors. But Almamûn disdained the thought of murdering his guest, and Alonzo was saved. Some of the tale-tellers in after times, in relating this, have added, that to try whether he was really asleep, the courtiers poured

Digitized by Google

boiling lead into his hand, and it ran through it, hence he was called, He of the open hand; but, in truth, he received that surname from his liberality.

While don Alonzo was thus enjoying the protection of the Moors, his brother, don Garcia, was suffering from the persecution of don Sancho. Too weak to make head against the united forces of Castile and Leon, the young king of Gallicia had sought refuge among the Moors of the south of Portugal, but they being unable or unwilling to assist him, he was soon taken and carried to Sancho, who shut him up in the tower of Lima, and having thus appropriated the inheritance of his two brothers, he next wrested Toro from donna Elvira, and besieged donna Urraca in Zamora.

Desirous of obtaining that strong fortress at any price, he sent his vassal, the Cid, who had been brought up from his infancy with the princess, to persuade her to exchange it with him for wider lands and more agreeable dwellings; but she refused, and said, "How many evil messages have I heard! My brother, don Garcia, he hath shut up in a tower, as if he were a thief or a Moor. My brother, don Alonzo, he hath forced to go among the Moors, and live like an exile and a traitor; he hath taken her lands from my sister donna Elvira, and now would he take Zamora from me also!"

Her foster-father, don Arias Gonzalo, then came to her and entreated her to moderate her grief, and

Digitized by Google

appeal to the men of Zamora. If they consented to hold the castle for her, then to send a refusal to her brother; but if not, to give it up, and take what he would give her for it. Urraca accordingly assembled the knights and good men of the town in the church of St. Salvador, and laid her case before them; and they thanked her for consulting them, and besought her not to give up the place, and promised not to desert her for trouble, nor for danger, even to death.

And the Cid carried back the princess's message to the king, and, moreover, withdrew from the army; for he would not fight against his foster-sister, and he took with him his knights and esquires, in number twelve hundred men.

After some time, the town was so hard pressed that Urraca was on the point of abandoning it, when don Sancho was treacherously slain (A. D. 1073) by a knight, called Vellido Dolfos, not without suspicion that Urraca and the men in Zamora had partaken in the treason. Urraca immediately despatched messengers to don Alonzo, at Toledo, entreating him to return in all haste, and secretly, lest the Moors should think of detaining him, now that he was king of their inveterate enemies. But Alonzo better understood the nature of Almamún, and went instantly to him to announce his brother's death, and desire permission to depart, and take possession of his crown. Almamún, so far from seeking to detain him, made no condition but that

Digitized by Google

of a renewal of friendship with Alonzo, for himself and for his son, accompanied him with a brilliant train of chiefs to the frontier, and took leave of with presents.

The people of Leon were glad to receive their own king back again; but the Castilian nobles, suspecting don Alonzo of having had some knowledge of, or participation in, the death of his brother, refused to swear fealty to him, unless he would clear himself by oath of that crime. He accordingly repaired to the cathedral of Burgos, and there, before the Cid, took a soleman oath that he knew nothing of the manner of his brother's death: then the Cid put the oath to him a second time, and he did the like; and then, according to the usages of Castile, he required the oath a third time, and the king took it. And the banners of Castile were raised in the name of king don Alonzo the Brave. But the king long resented the manner in which the Cid had required the oath.

The very year after Alonzo's accession to the throne he had occasion to prove his gratitude to Almamún. The king of Cordova had made an inroad into the lands of Toledo, and Alonzo, without waiting for any message from his friend, assembled a force, with which he joined the Toledans, and drove off the invaders: a great booty was found in their camp, which the Christians divided with their Moorish allies. About this time Alonzo's first wife, Inez, died, and he married Constantia,

Digitized by Google

daughter of Robert, duke of Burgundy. The French princess, on arriving at Burgos, was shocked at the lax state of the Christian church of Spain; and, above all, at the general use of the Musarabic liturgy, which still continued in possession of the churches, notwithstanding the repeated efforts of the popes to put it down. At her entreaty a council was held at Burgos, where the cardinal Richort, abbot of Marseilles, presided as the pope's legate. Many rules of reform were enacted, and the use of the Romish ritual enjoined throughout Castile.

The Moors, meantime, continued their mutual wars, and the king of Arragon and count of Barcelona occasionally taking part with them, or against them, augmented the ills of war without gaining any permanent advantage for the Christians. The Cid was the captain, who, upon the whole, did most evil to the Moors; yet he occasionally joined the Beni Huds of Zaragoza against the counts of Barcelona, whom he twice took and spoiled. The character of the Cid was formed by the circumstances of the times. Brave and politic, he considered all advancement of the Christian cause lawful; but brought up by his godfather, a priest of Burgos, in the belief that with Jews and infidels there was no faith to be kept, his conduct to them was both cruel and perfidious; and while he is said never to have failed in his word to a Christian, he raised money from the Jews, pretending to leave in pawn chests full of plate, to be

Digitized by Google

opened a year after they were delivered, while the boxes, in fact, contained nothing but stones and sand; and for his mercy and tenderness to Christians he made up by the burnings alive and hewings in pieces of the Moors, to extort confessions of hidden treasures.

His loyalty to his sovereign was undoubted, yet he broke the truce that both gratitude and policy should have rendered sacred, with the king of Toledo. But for this offence Alonzo banished him from Castile, and he went with some hundred followers and led a vagabond life, subsisting on the spoils of the Moors towards the east of Spain, or, if that failed, robbing the Christians.

In the year 1077 died Almamún, the generous friend and protector of Alonzo. His son and successor, Hachem, was worthy of him, and the friendship between him and the Christian king continued; but his short reign of two years being ended, his brother Yahia, a profligate and cruel prince, succeeded, whose excesses soon disgusted his subjects: and the Christians especially who inhabited Toledo feeling the new grievances he inflicted, appealed to Alonzo to rescue them from the odious yoke. For some time Alonzo refused to interfere, withheld by the memory of Yahia's father; but at length he took the field against the son of his benefactor, and began a siege that lasted six years. The fame of this enterprise, the greatest that any Christian prince had yet undertaken against the Moors

Digitized by Google

in Spain, soon spread over all Europe. The situation of Toledo seemed to render it impregnable before fire-arms were used. Accessible only on the north, every art which the ablest engineers of the time could employ contributed to fortify it on that side, so that Alonzo could only hope to reduce it by famine. Sancho, king of Arragon and Navarre, soon joined him. Many princes of France and Germany brought their followers to this holy war. At length, worn out by famine, the wretched Toledans forced Yahia to yield the city, which he did on condition that the Moors who chose to remain in it should enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and possess their great mosque, besides being assured of their property: that Yahia himself should retire to Valencia with all his riches, and that all who chose to accompany him should be at liberty to do so. Thus, in the year 1085, Alonzo recovered the ancient Gothic capital of Spain, after it had been in the hands of the Mahometans 372 years.

The king remained some time in Toledo to superintend the repairs of the fortifications and the settlement of the Christians, whom he induced to fix themselves there by great privileges, in order that he might have a sufficient number to keep the Moorish inhabitants in check; and then left the town under the care of the queen and Bernard, abbot of Sahagun, the new archbishop of Toledo, who joyfully entered on the archiepiscopal func-

Digitized by Google

tions in the ancient metropolitan church of the kingdom. But the indiscreet zeal of the queen and the archbishop had nearly lost the fruit of the seven years' siege of Toledo. It seemed to them an insult to the Christian name, that while the archiepiscopal church was little more than a mere chapel, the infidels should possess the noblest place of worship. They therefore marched at the head of a body of soldiers by night into the great mosque, cleared it of every thing Moorish, erected altars according to the Christian custom, and hoisted a bell into the chief minaret. When the Moors heard the sound of this bell calling the Christians to morning prayer in the very temple which had been secured to them by treaty, they rose unanimously, and it was with great difficulty that their most prudent chiefs restrained them from seizing arms, and attacking the queen and archbishop. The news of this disturbance soon reached the king, who instantly set out from Sahagun, where he was, and threatened severe chastisement against the prelate, and all who should have had any hand in the violation of the compact with the Moors, and no entreaties of those around him could mitigate his resentment. As he approached Toledo his indignation seemed to increase when he remembered how he had been sheltered there, and that now his wife and people were making so ill a return to the Toledans; and he vowed to revenge on Constance and Bernard the evils the Moors

Digitized by Google

had suffered. They, meanwhile, had prevailed on the inhabitants to go out to meet the king, dressed in mourning robes, and to implore his clemency: but it was in vain, until the Moors also, aware that if for their sake the king punished the clergy, they should probably suffer more in the end, joined the petitioners, and on the 22d January, 1086, obtained pardon for their oppressors.

Three years after this occurrence a curious duel took place. The popes had long attempted to substitute the Romish ritual for that of the Gothic church, called Musarabic; but neither their precepts, nor the ordinance of the late council of Burgos, had been able to wean the people from the form of prayer used by their ancestors; and when the queen and the archbishop endeavoured to establish the Roman mass-book at Toledo, the people demanded the trial by ordeal and by duel for the ancient liturgy. Accordingly the king and queen, the nobles, the clergy, and the magistrates being assembled, a great fire was kindled in the public market-place of Toledo, and the two books were cast into the flames. The Romish ritual remained unconsumed, but the words were obliterated by smoke: the Musarabic book came out clear as it was cast in. This result of the trial displeasing the queen, the duel was demanded, when the champion of the ancient ritual was again victorious. His name was Juan Ruiz, of the house of Matancas. Yet notwithstanding this advantage, the

Digitized by Google

queen procured an edict from the king pronouncing both rituals equally good, and ordaining that the ancient book should be used only in those chapels which had continued in possession of the Christians throughout the Moorish times; but that all new and all reconsecrated churches should use the Romish liturgy. In one place in Spain the Musarabic form was preserved even to our days. A small chapel in the cathedral of Toledo continued to be served in the manner of the Goths, but had fallen to decay when the great cardinal Ximenes repaired it and endowed it for ever, that the memory of the ancient Gothic Christians might not be lost in their country.

The conquest of Toledo was not the only advantage gained by Alonzo's long war. The cities on the banks of the Tagus and the neighbouring fortresses fell one by one into his hands, till he alarmed Aben Abed, king of Seville, who till now had been his firm ally, and he wrote to him remonstrating against the inroads his knights were accustomed to make into the territories of Seville, in one of which they had disturbed the country as far as Medina Sidonia. Alonzo answered this complaint by sending his treasurer, a Jew, to demand tribute from Seville, and moreover to claim certain castles and towns which he considered as part of the kingdom of Toledo. The Jew found Aben Abed at Cordova, and there delivered his message. The irritated Moor instantly seized him,

Digitized by Google

ordered his eyes to be put out, and the five hundred Christian soldiers who accompanied him were put to death. Thus all measures between the Christians and Moors were broken off.

Aben Abed now called upon all the Moorish princes to meet and consider what was best to be done. They each sent a cadi of their supreme council to Seville, and there, in the great mosque, they deliberated as to what measures might stop the progress of the Christians, who harassed them on every side, and especially of Alonzo, who, to use their own expression, "*Thundered and lightened, threatening the ruin of Islam.*" The greater number of the envoys advised the calling in of Yusuf ben Taxfin, chief of the Almoravides of Africa, whose fame had spread all over the world, to aid his Moslem brethren. Only the cadi of Cordova raised his voice against it. He foresaw that Yusuf would seize the whole of Mahometan Spain for himself, and that they should have a foreigner to reign over them of a different sect and different manners, which would be worse than the rule of their Christian countrymen, who had fellow feelings with them. The cadi's opinion was overruled, and the aid of Yusuf was solicited.

As the Almoravides came afterwards to reign over a great part of Spain, it is interesting to relate their origin. In times beyond the knowledge of history, two tribes, those of Lamtu and Gudala, emigrated from Arabia-felix, and led their flocks and herds into

Digitized by Google

the deserts of Africa. They never mixed with the natives, nor adopted their habits. Their clothing was of camels' hair, their tents of a coarser manufacture of the same: they led their flocks wherever the pasture seemed best, and had at length reached the western desert of Africa, by the hills of Daren and the sea. One of the tribe of Gudala, upon some occasion, visited the land of his forefathers, and stopping on the way at Cairoan, was attracted by the curiosities of the place, and remained some time there. What pleased him most were the schools, where he perceived young men were instructed, and taught to raise themselves above their mere animal nature. He prevailed on a learned man to go back with him to his tribe, which was gentle and humane and tractable, and willing to learn. Abdala ben Yasun was he who went with him, and immediately seventy sheiks of the Gudala and Lamtu tribes came to the sage, received him as a father, and adopted his faith and learned his precepts. The usual course of the believers in Mahomet followed; the shepherds became warriors, and at the period when the Lamtunas and Gudalas, who had taken on them the name of Almoravides, were called into Spain, they were governed by Yusuf, whose cousin and predecessor, Abu Bekir, had built the city of Morocco, and founded the empire of that name about sixteen years before.

Yusuf was of the ancient and noble tribe of Ho-

Digitized by Google

mair, in Arabia the Happy. He was beautiful in person, generous, prudent, and brave, very ambitious, and, above all, desirous of propagating the faith of Mahomet. His dress was always of plain woollen cloth, his food barley-bread and beef, or mutton or camel's flesh, but never of any delicacy. He never in his life suffered from any illness but that preceding his death. He was learned in his own laws, and a zealous maintainer of them. Such was the man called in by the Spanish Moors to their assistance.

The ambassadors from Spain found Yusuf at Morocco, and delivered the letters of Aben Abed soliciting his alliance. They explained to him the state of Spain: they extolled the country, and lamented that it was now threatened with the dominion of the Christians, from which they called upon him to free it. Yusuf answered that he would assist his Moslem brethren on condition that they would put Algeziras into his hands, that he might have a port to embark and disembark when he pleased. On this demand being made known, Rashid, Aben Abed's eldest son, who had before dissuaded his father from calling in the strangers, again remonstrated, saying, that Algeziras was one of the keys of Spain, and that no foreigner ought to possess the power of entering and quitting the country as he pleased. But the prince's opinion was overruled, and Yusuf entered Spain.

Ten thousand Almoravides accompanied him to

Digitized by Google

Seville, and there he was joined by Aben Abed's forces and those of the kings of Granada and Algarve, the lords of Valencia and Almatgar, and many others. They marched to meet Alonzo, who had assembled a great army of horse and foot, Christians and Arabs, for many of those of Spain were willing to fight against the Almoravides. Near Badajos, at a little place called Xalaca, the two armies met. Each was divided into two bodies, and each believed, in the early part of the day, that the victory was its own. But the Christians were defeated. Five noble counts of Castile were killed, and Alonzo himself narrowly escaped. He was wounded by a negro slave with a scimetar, and seized by him and his companions, who were leading him off by the bridle when his own people rescued him. On the other hand, though Yusuf was untouched in the battle, Aben Abed received several wounds: but as he lay in his tent he wrote a few lines announcing his victory to his son, and tying it under the wing of a trained pigeon, he despatched it to Seville, where the news was immediately circulated, and the greatest rejoicings took place.

The affairs of Christian Spain were nevertheless in some measure retrieved by the successes of the king of Arragon and of the Cid, who, in the east, were uniformly successful; and Yusuf having left the country, his followers plainly displaying their intention of remaining and appropriating it to them-

Digitized by Google

selves, Aben Abed courted peace with Alonzo, and gave him his daughter Zaida in marriage, and with her as a dowry the towns of Cuenca, Ucles, and Huete. Constance of France had died without children, but Zaida, who received the name of Maria, or Isabella, possibly both, in baptism, bore a son, the only one the king had, and it was imagined that this alliance would secure the tranquillity of both Castile and Seville. This, however, was far from being the case. New disputes arose between the kings, and a fiercer war than ever broke out. Yusuf returned from Africa, and don Alonzo called in the assistance of the neighbouring Christian princes.

To strengthen his alliances with them, he gave his elder daughter Urracca in marriage to count Raymond of Burgundy; to the count don Roderic he gave donna Sancha; to Raimond of Toulouse, donna Elvira; and to Henry of Lorraine, donna Teresa. On the latter he conferred the title of count, with the sovereignty of whatever territory he might win from the Moors on the side of Portugal; and from him sprung the kings of Portugal. Raymond of Burgundy, in case of the death of the infant don Sancho, was to inherit the kingdom; and the other sons-in-law received with their wives great dowries in money and jewels.

Meanwhile Mussulman Spain was torn by factions both foreign and domestic. The Almoravides, originally called in as auxiliaries, became by

Digitized by Google

degrees masters. Aben Abed was taken prisoner by Yusuf, and sent with his family to Africa, where he was confined in a narrow prison; and the allowance for his maintenance was so small that his daughters were obliged to spin for their own subsistence, and to procure even the decent clothing necessary for their father. His wife, Saida Cubra, whom he tenderly loved, died after the first few months of their imprisonment; and he saw his children drop off one by one of broken hearts. He lived four years in his prison, endeavouring to console himself by the exercises of religion and the cultivation of poetry, a talent he had never neglected either in the camp or in the leisure of his palace. He is praised as an excellent writer, and his songs and ballads were long the delight of the common people.

Having taken Seville, Yusuf next attacked Valencia, where Yahia ben Dylnûn, former king of Toledo, reigned. Though aided by the Christians, Yahia was overcome and killed by one of Yusuf's captains, who entered the city and governed it in his master's name.

The successes of the Almoravides now alarmed Giaffar, king of Zaragoza. That prudent prince had taken as little part as possible in the wars of Andalusia, as he had himself a wide frontier to defend, exposed to incursions from Barcelona, Toulouse, Navarre, and Arragon. He was accounted the richest king in Spain. His ships carried the

Digitized by Google

produce of the peninsula to Alexandria, in Egypt, and to the ports of Syria, and brought back the spices and manufactures of the East. He was wise and humane, respected by his neighbours, and feared by his enemies. He sent ambassadors to Yusuf, who had returned to Morocco, representing to him that his kingdom was the bulwark of Moorish Spain against the Christians of France, as well as the north of the peninsula, and that no king could hope to reign peaceably in Andalusia if the state of Zaragoza was weakened. The ambassadors were the bearers of a magnificent present, and his son accompanied them, carrying a letter written by Giaffar's own hand, proposing an alliance for mutual defence against the Christians. The views of Yusuf were forwarded not only by this league with the most powerful of the Moorish kings, but by the superstitious belief of the people that his coming into Spain, and conquests there, were foretold in an ancient prophecy; so that many, considering it of no avail to oppose him, abandoned their former chiefs and joined the standard of the conqueror. But while his troops were engaged in the conquest of Badajos, or in the service of Zaragoza, the Cid, after several months' siege, during which the inhabitants were reduced to the utmost extremity of famine, took the city of Valencia, made it his dwelling, and maintained it during his life, though it was in the midst of his enemies.

The stratagems he used to induce the greater

Digitized by Google

part of the Moorish inhabitants to leave the city, and reside in the only one of the five suburbs that he had spared during the siege, are, perhaps, justifiable, on the ground of the necessity of securing the lives of the Christians, who were much inferior in number; but nothing can excuse the cruelties inflicted on the former governor and his family to extort a confession of the concealed treasures of Yahia, and the maledictions of the Arab historians seem justified even by the Christian chronicles of the Cid's actions.

He was no sooner settled in Valencia than he sent a magnificent present to king Alonzo, under so strong an escort, that the king came out of his capital to receive it, doubting of the prudence of admitting so many knights accustomed to live as free-booters. The Cid, at the same time, entreated the king to allow his wife and his two daughters to join him, as he had never seen them since the day when he was banished from Castile. This reasonable request was of course granted, and the ladies arrived safely at Valencia, where they were received with great rejoicings. The fame of the Cid Ruy Diaz had long filled all Spain; but now the report of his great power and riches induced two young men, connected with the royal house, called the Infants of Carrion, to seek the Cid's daughters in marriage.

Now although neither Ruy Diaz nor donna Ximena approved of the match, yet as don Alonzo

Digitized by Google

requested it they could not refuse; and the Infants came to Valencia, where they remained two years with their wives, and exposed themselves to the derision of the Cid's court by their cowardice and ungallant bearing. At length, enraged at the ridicule with which they were treated, they resolved on revenge. To accomplish this, they begged permission to go to Carrion to visit their parents, and to take their wives with them to present them to their own people. To this, though reluctantly, the Cid consented; but, distrusting the Infants, he caused them to be observed by a trusty relation, and it was fortunate for his daughters that he did so, for they had scarcely left the dominions of Ruy Diaz, when the Infants, separating the ladies from the company they rode with, stripped them, and beat and wounded them, and left them for dead by a little fountain in an oak copse. There they were soon found by their cousin, who conveyed them to a place of safety, and then informed Ruy Diaz, the Cid campeador, of the treason of his sons-in-law. He, justly enraged, demanded right of the king; and don Alonzo summoned the cortes of the kingdom, and cited the Infants to appear before the Cid and his barons, and appointed two noble Castilians as judges of the cause.

On the day of the meeting, the cid sent his people into the hall with his ivory chair, which he had won in battle from a Moorish king, and he sat in it near the king, and his hair, which no man

Digitized by Google

had ever cut, was secured in a net, and his beard, which no man had ever plucked, was tied with a cord, and his face was terrible. And when the Infants came he demanded of them if, when they espoused his daughters, he had not given them the best swords of his honour, Colada and Tizona, to keep, and if they had not kept those tempered blades hungry, neglecting to feed them with the blood of the infidels—and they could not deny it; and the court judged that they should restore the swords Colada and Tizona. And then he required, that as they had abandoned their wives, they should restore their dowry; and that also was adjudged to him, and time given the Infants to pay it. And, lastly, they and their uncle, who had assisted in their cruel villany, were required to do battle with three of the Cid's knights: and they did so, and were overcome with shame.

This judgment occupied nearly two months. The Cid's daughters were again sought in marriage by the princes of Navarre and Arragon, and this time they were happily disposed of.

Shortly after Ruy Diaz returned to Valencia he received an embassy from the sovereign of Persia, for his fame had spread even into the East; and as the crusaders were now daily flocking to the Holy Land, it seemed not unlikely that so famous a champion as the Cid would join them. The soldan, therefore, sent a rich present and a complimentary letter, desiring his friendship. These the Cid received,

Digitized by Google

and returned courteous answers, and treated the ambassador hospitably: indeed the enemies of the Christian faith in Spain itself demanded the care of the native princes and nobles, and none of note but Bernard, archbishop of Toledo, at this time joined the crusade to Palestine.

Meanwhile the Almoravides, enraged that the Cid should keep possession of Valencia, resolved to attack it with a greater force than they had yet brought against it, and the Cid prepared to go out and give them battle; but in the midst of his preparations he was suddenly taken ill, and felt that the disease was mortal. Certain that after his death his few followers could not maintain the place, he gave orders that no wailing should be made when he expired, in order that the enemy might not be aware that he was dead; but that he should be set on horseback, and at the head of his people march out of the town, and go to his burial-place at Cardena. This was accordingly done; the enemy's camp was not passed without a skirmish; but they, who saw the Cid with his accustomed countenance, riding on his own horse Bavieca, with the sword Colada in his hand, fled from before him, and thus, dead as he was, he gained his seventy-second victory over the Moors; but they re-entered Valencia, which he had kept from them five whole years. King Alonzo and the princes of Arragon and Navarre attended his funeral.

But we must return to the general affairs of

Digitized by Google

Spain. Don Sancho Ramirez, king of Arragon, had been indefatigable in his wars against the Moors of the East; but at the siege of Huesca, as he was reconnoitring the walls, he was pierced by an arrow, and slain on the spot. His son don Peter, who was in the field, was immediately proclaimed king; and his whole reign, like that of his father, was a series of victories over the Moors, adding little by little to his territory. His most memorable battle was that of Alcoraz, after which he finally recovered Huesca or Osca from the Moors, and the bishopric was re-established there, which had been translated to another place while Huesca was in the hands of the infidels. Meanwhile the Almoravides had obtained possession of all the Andalusian provinces, and with the exception of Zaragoza, Mahometan Spain was once more united into one empire. Yusuf occasionally visited it; but his favourite residence was Morocco, where he died in the hundredth year of his age, in the year 1107, having reigned forty years in Africa, and sixteen in Spain. His last visit to Spain was distinguished by a kind of persecution which he began against the Jews. That people had continued to multiply and prosper in Spain. They were the physicians and apothecaries of both Moors and Christians; they were moreover employed as treasurers and mint-masters, their skill in chemistry rendering them peculiarly fit for the latter employ-

Digitized by Google

ment. They were likewise the usual tax-gatherers, which has always been an odious occupation, though one of great trust; hence they had become rich, and the objects of envy and jealousy to the kings. The year 500 of the Hegira occurred during Yusuf's last visit to Andalusia, and it appeared, by some ancient writing found at Cordova, that the Jews had promised to believe in Mahomet if their own Messiah should not appear in five hundred years. Now Yusuf and his chief cadi threatened to compel those then in Spain to fulfil this promise of their forefathers; but on receiving a considerable sum of money, the king and his cadi desisted from this harsh measure, and the Jews continued to live and prosper, though always in alarm, in the Peninsula.

Yusuf was succeeded by his son Ali, a prince of great courage and wisdom. He was chiefly occupied in his African dominions, and therefore deputed his brothers to command his forces in Spain. Now, although the Spanish Moors agreed with their new friends, the Almoravides, in their hostility against the Christians, they were very impatient under their government, because they were more unlike them than their Christian countrymen themselves. The Spanish Moors had cultivated letters, and all the agreeable arts of life; but the Almoravides knew little of letters beyond the commentaries of the Koran, and thought little of any arts that

Digitized by Google

were not applicable to the purposes of war. For this reason, as long as the Almoravides reigned, they were obliged to maintain larger armies, and the only chance they had of pleasing their Moorish subjects was, keeping up perpetual war against the Christians. Taxfin, the brother of Ali, therefore, as soon as he took on him the command in Spain, attacked king Alonzo, and, in the battle of Ucles, he not only overcame the Christian army, but killed don Sancho, the only son of the king, don Garcia de Cabra, the greatest captain of Castile after the Cid, having died defending him.

This was a severe blow to the aged Alonzo. He had no other son, and his grandchild, the son of donna Urraca, now a widow, was but an infant. Grief and age soon overcame his strength; he died at Toledo in the year 1109, aged seventy-nine years, and was succeeded by his daughter, donna Urraca. Don Peter I. of Arragon died five years before, A. D. 1104: his brother and successor was don Alonzo, who married donna Urraca, queen of Castile and Leon, and lady of Gallicia. Their history will be related in the next chapter.

There is considerable difficulty and confusion in the history of the wives of don Alonzo VI. of Leon and Castile. Inez, his first wife, is supposed to have been the daughter of Guy, duke of Aquitaine. She was the mother of donna Urraca. Constance of France died without children. As to Isabel,

Digitized by Google

concerning whom even Florez is uncertain, she was, if corresponding dates may guide us, Zaida, the daughter of Aben Abed, king of Seville, mother of the Infant don Sancho. Bertha and Beatriz are both called Tuscan ladies. Beatriz certainly survived the king, and it is not improbable that they are one and the same. As to donna Ximena Nunez, the mother of donna Elvira and donna Teresa, she was the daughter of a Castilian nobleman, and it does not appear that she was married to the king. But all church discipline was so loose in those days, that it is difficult to account for the various marriages of the kings.

The wife of Peter I. of Arragon was Agnes, daughter of the count of Poitiers. They had one son and one daughter, who died nearly at the same time, before their father.

Both these kings were men of ability and firmness, and the reigns of Alonzo the Brave and Peter the Victor will ever be celebrated as the dawn of the Christian prosperity of modern Spain. Toledo, the seat of the ancient Gothic monarchy, was recovered; several of the ancient episcopal sees were re-established; the foundations of the kingdom of Portugal were laid; and connexions formed with the rest of Europe, which opened the road to the future glory and prosperity of the country.

Digitized by Google



Biscayan, Gallician, &c.

We have now seen the eleventh century in Spain passed in a series of petty wars, which furnish little interesting to history. Yet the result of the whole was favourable to the Christians. Castile had become a kingdom; Arragon had begun to take a considerable rank among the other states; Leon, united with Castile, was no longer subject to the wasteful incursions of the Moors; and there was a form and an union among the Christian provinces which had hitherto been wanting. Moorish Spain, on the contrary, had sunk low indeed. The glory of the Omeiad caliphs was gone; the petty chiefs, who had founded almost as many kingdoms as there were towns of note, soon found themselves sinking before the rising powers of Castile and Arragon,

Digitized by Google

and, instead of uniting for mutual defence, they called in a foreign and barbarous monarch, who spoiled them of their riches, mortified them by his insolence, and disgusted them by his coarseness and want of cultivation. Yet even under Yusuf the muses did not forsake Andalusia; and there is something affecting in the circumstance of the homage paid by the poet Abul Hasen Hasuri to Aben Abêd, on his way to prison. Aben Abêd was himself a poet, and Abul Hasen, regardless of the conqueror, met him on his road with a poem, in praise of his virtues and his talents, and suggesting topics of consolation for the changes of fortune. The colleges of Cordova and Seville were kept up, and the school of medicine seems rather to have improved during this century. The great Averroes was born, and studied at Cordova, towards the end of this period. He first translated Aristotle into Arabic, and introduced his philosophy into the schools of Spain, whence it spread over the rest of Europe. His friend and countryman, Abenzoar, introduced many improvements in pharmacy and surgery, and we have seen the care with which Gehwar of Cordova provided for the improvement of medicine in his dominions.

Geometry, arithmetic, algebra, and astronomy, sciences scarcely known, even by hearsay, in the rest of Europe, continued to be taught in the Moorish schools; but with them there was also the vain study of judicial astrology. A curious example

Digitized by Google

of the prevalence of the belief in this art is in the account of king Alonzo's dream. Before the battle of Zalaca he dreamt that he was mounted on an elephant, and that he himself was beating an enormous kettle-drum. On waking, his uneasiness was such that he called for the "learned Christians, such as the bishops and clergy; and also for the rabbies of the Jews, his vassals, as they were most given to divination and interpretation of dreams." —Not satisfied with their exposition, he applied to an Arab faquir, who of course prognosticated evil and defeat in the approaching battle.

The domestic manners of the times present a singular mixture of polish and barbarism. When the Cid took the count of Barcelona prisoner, a table was instantly served for him, and all the rites of hospitable entertainment observed; yet when the count seemed loth to eat, the Cid insisted on his eating heartily, as the price of his freedom.

Again, nothing but exceeding barbarism can excuse the Cid's abject posture on hands and knees, when he approached the king of Castile the first time after having been banished, and his attempting to kiss his foot. It has been said unjustly, that this sort of servility was adopted from the Moors; but the free-born Arabs did not prostrate themselves; the greatest respect paid to a sovereign was to stand up on his approach, and none but slaves or condemned criminals could be excused for such servile prostration.

Digitized by Google

The clothing was splendid at this time; but all did not wear linen. Shirts of linen were, however, often used, as were those of light Persian silk, and these were often embroidered with gold, silver, and colours. A sort of wadded coat was used under the mail, to prevent the metal from chafing or cutting the skin. When it was desirable to conceal armour, skins with the fur on were laced tightly over it, and then the cloak covered all. These cloaks were of tissue, silk, rich stuffs, or furs, and sometimes even of leather; probably the *red skin* with gold points, which the Cid always wore, was of cordovan or morocco.

The legs were defended by hose of cloth or leather, and shoes of the same materials, sometimes curiously wrought; when armed, the greaves were bound over the hose, and there was a knee-piece jointed to defend the knee, and above that jointed plates of metal formed the cuishes, and defended the thigh. These dresses were common to the Moors and Christians; but the Moors, in their houses, used long and full robes, and rolled long scarfs round their waists, and wore turbans on their heads, while the Christians wore only a cap, if any thing, when they had not their helmets. The helmets of both were adorned with feathers, hair, or other ornaments.

The dress of the cadis was a tunic tied with many bands at the breast; that of the Christian monastic orders, much what it is now, saving that

Digitized by Google

most of them retained their beards; and the Jews had no discriminating mark, but appeared clothed nearly like the Moors. The women dressed splendidly; the Moors with fine shirts of cotton, or thin Persian silk, and full trowsers, with long robes of the richest stuffs of silk and gold, their hair braided with flowers and jewels, and on their heads veils of beautiful texture, usually white. The Christian ladies do not seem to have adopted the trowsers; but the close bodice, buttoned or laced, was soon introduced, and over it a flowing robe with full sleeves. Those who wished to pass for holy wore head-bands and kerchiefs, something like those of a modern nun; and such, indeed, appears to have been very generally the ladies' head-dress throughout Europe.

In this century we now and then find mention made of female warriors; among the rest one negress archer is named in the chronicle of the Cid; and, as the crusades became more popular, the number of these amazons increased.

The duel, which had been long practised both by the descendants of the Goths and the Saracens, or Moors, had by this time assumed a regular form, and a knowledge of its rules was often the principal, if not the only, accomplishment of the barons. The Gothic nations, indeed, admitted the duel into their systems of jurisprudence; it was considered as an appeal to the Divine Judge of all things, and was permitted between individuals as a trial of

Digitized by Google

right. On the death of the king, don Sancho the Strong, by treachery, before the walls of Zamora, the city was impeached by the Cid, and other friends of the deceased king, and lists were appointed, and the defenders of the city appeared in the lists to prove the innocence of its inhabitants. But with the Moors, as the Koran was the only law acknowledged, and the cadis were the interpreters of that law, the duel was always an affair of honour or revenge, and was fought with or without witnesses, and approached more nearly to our modern duels.

With regard to literature, we have seen that that of the Moors did not suffer, notwithstanding the civil wars. The Castilians had, no doubt, ere this time, framed their mixed language, rude as it was, into songs and ballads and metrical legends. It is certain, that about the year 1100, William, duke of Aquitaine, wrote verses in the Provençal dialect, and that dialect appears to have spread into the north of Spain.

The Spanish language owes a particular obligation to the Jews. The college transferred from Babylon to Cordova, in the tenth century, produced many able men, but none more celebrated than the learned David Kimchi. By him and his fellow-students there is every reason to believe that that version of the Hebrew books of the Old Testament was made, which, after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, was printed at Ferrara in 1553. It

Digitized by Google

contains many energetic words and peculiar expresions, not to be found in the dictionary of the Spanish academy.

But the civil wars of Spain took up too much of the attention of the Christian clergy, who, with few exceptions, were the only writers in their nations, to allow them time to engage in the study of their vernacular tongue. Their letters to foreign courts, their records, and all matters of ecclesiastical business, were written in Latin: the most popular songs and tales continued to be those of the Moors; hence the only authentic monument of the Castilian tongue, in the 11th century, is a work of the Jews.



Arms of Seville.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE DEATH OF DON ALONZO VI., A. D. 1109, TO THAT OF THE EMPEROR DON ALONZO VII., A. D. 1157.



Navarre costumes.

AFTER the death of the infant, don Sancho, at the battle of Uclès, Alonzo VI., naturally anxious for the fate of his kingdom, having no son, and only one grandson, and he an infant, had married his eldest daughter Urraca, the widow of count Raymond, and mother of the young Alonzo, to Alonzo, king of Arragon, to whom he confidently trusted

Digitized by Google

the defence of Christian Spain from the Moors. On Alonzo's death Urraca succeeded to the kingdom of Castile, and her son was brought up in Gallicia, among the Gallician nobles, as their future king.

The queen was in Arragon with her husband, when her accession to her father's throne was made known to her; and her foster-father, Peranzueles, took upon him the government of Castile, as regent, until she should arrive in her own states. Alonzo of Arragon immediately sent garrisons into all the frontier towns, and in his wife's name removed as many Castilian commanders as possible, in order to make room for his own dependents. The Castilians and Gallicians naturally became jealous of this conduct, but as the queen was a woman whose behaviour gave them no just hopes of her ruling well, and as Alonzo, at first, did not attempt to interfere with the civil government, being engaged in war with the Moors of Zaragoza, matters remained quiet for some months. But on her arrival at Burgos she caused a tumult in the state. Peranzuelas she dismissed and treated with contempt and harshness, under pretence that he had offended the Castilians by naming, in his public letters, her husband, Alonzo of Arragon, king of Castile: but his true offence was, the having remonstrated against her ill conduct, and the open favour she showed to don Gomez, count of Candespina, and don Pedro, count of Lara. These nobles were among the foremost to oppose the pretensions of Alonzo to reign

Digitized by Google

in right of his wife, in Castile. The Gallicians, meanwhile, entered into a confederacy with Henry, count of Portugal, the husband of Urraca's sister; and, to give importance to their party, they crowned the youug Alonzo in the great church of Compostella; and though the ceremony of anointing kings was not usual in the country, it was performed, on this occasion, to give more solemnity to the act. Don Pedro, count of Trava, and foster-father to the prince, was the main leader on all occasions.

Meantime, the misconduct of Urraca had so incensed her husband, that he had confined her in the tower of Soria, whence she had escaped to Burgos; but so little was the respect in which she was held, that her subjects sent her back to her husband, who confined her anew; but the determined opposition of the Castilians and Gallicians to all interference, on his part, in the government of these states, joined to her disgraceful conduct, disgusted him with the alliance, and he gladly consented to the divorce wished for by the Gallicians, and recommended by the bishops, on the ground of there being too near a relationship between the parties.

A war now broke out between Alonzo of Arragon and the Castilians, headed by don Gomez and don Pedro de Lara. Their armies met in a place called la Espina, where a fierce battle was fought, most destructive to the Castilian nobles, of whom don Gomez was killed early in the day, and

Digitized by Google

many fell around him. His standard-bearer, of the house of Olea, particularly distinguished himself; for when his horse had been killed under him, and his two hands had been struck off, he continued to support the standard with the stumps, until he fainted, and fell by his chief. As to Lara, he fled from the battle, and took refuge with the queen, where, however, he did not long remain; for he was driven out of Castile by the indignant nobles; and the queen herself is scarcely mentioned after this period.

The king of Arragon advanced after the battle of Espinas to Leon, and hoped to get possession of the person of the young king of Castile, and a second battle was fought, when he was again victorious, and don Pedro de Trava was killed; but the provident care of the bishop Gelmirez conveyed the prince out of his reach.

Several cities fell into the power of the king; but as he was without money to pay his mercenary troops, he seized the church treasures by the advice of count Henry of Portugal, and so offended the people, that they roused themselves to drive him out of the country, and after a time succeeded; but not until Najara, Burgos, Palencia, and Leon had been taken and retaken, and the country had been wasted by a cruel and unnecessary war. On the recovery of the capitals of Leon and Castile, the nobles resolved to crown the young Alonzo king of Castile, as he was already king of Gallicia; and

Digitized by Google

this step seems to have put an end to the civil discord.

While Christian Spain was thus disturbed, the Almoravide caliph, Aly, arrived from Africa, and taking advantage of the unsettled state of Castile after Alonzo's death, attacked and took Talavera, and proceeded to besiege Toledo, the walls of which he battered for some days without success; but perceiving, from their structure and situation, that the enterprise was hopeless, he desisted and returned to Africa.

The loss of Talavera was, however, made up to the Christians by the success of Alonzo of Arragon at Tudela, where Giaffar, king of Zaragoza, was killed, and the town secured to Arragon. Giaffar was taken from the field of battle, and buried in his war clothes, and with his sword in his hand, as became a Moorish warrior. Alonzo was prevented from following up his victory by being called upon to attend to the state of his affairs in Castile, where his presence was necessary; but was too late to secure his own dominion there, or to avert the civil war.

While that war was wasting the strength of the Christians, a fresh army of Almoravides, under Syr ben Bekir, arrived from Morocco and retook Cintra, Badajos, Jabora, Porto, and Lisbon; and Aly, thinking the time favourable, sent a considerable fleet to attack the Balearic islands, which had been for some time subject to the counts of Bar-

Digitized by Google

celona. The reigning prince was Raymond Berenger, who had married donna Dulce, the heiress of Gerbert, count of Provence. Strengthened by this alliance, he had extended his dominion in Catalonia, the lords of which had for some years been accustomed to expeditions by sea, and had earned some reputation as mariners. They did not, however, feel themselves strong enough to encounter the Almoravides alone, wherefore Raymond went in person to Genoa and Pisa to solicit aid. From thence he obtained ships and men, and maintained for a considerable time an unequal warfare with the Moors. He took their principal city in the island of Mallorca after an obstinate engagement, in which Remon, bishop of Barcelona, was killed; the Almoravides, acquainted with the rocks and fastnesses of the isles, harassed the Christians with perpetual attacks, and the count was at length obliged to leave them in possession, to defend his own states, which had been invaded by a body of Moors, with a view to relieve the islands. This is the first mention of any attempt at obtaining assistance from the Italian states against the Moors or Saracens of Spain.

But accustomed as the Genoese now were to be the carriers of the crusaders to Palestine, an expedition so near home, and against those who were equally enemies to the Christian faith with the subjects of the Soldan, was too inviting to be re-

Digitized by Google

jected; and accordingly we find them afterwards not unfrequently engaged in similar undertakings.

After the death of Giaffar at Tudela, Zaragoza had fallen, like the rest of the Moorish provinces, into the hands of the Almoravides, although Amad Dola, the son of Giaffar, had succeeded to the title of king; but some disturbance having arisen in the province, he sought and obtained the assistance of the king of Arragon, who in a pitched battle at Cutanda, near Darocca, defeated the Almoravides, and Amad Dola entered once more into Zaragoza as its nominal king. Many of the lesser towns now fell into the hands of the Christians, and in order to defend the frontier from the incursions of the Valencians, Alonzo built the fort of Monreal, near Darocca, which, at the persuasion of the Bernardines, he gave to the Templars, then a new order; and this was their first possession in Spain, where they afterwards arrived at such a pitch of wealth and power. The next year Alonzo, regardless of his treaties with Amad Dola, got together a prodigious force from France and Navarre, and a multitude of adventurers from all parts, and attacked Zaragoza itself. The walls were closely invested, so that no provisions could enter, and though the clumsy war towers, dragged by oxen to the neighbourhood, and then pushed on by the soldiers, made no impression, the inhabitants, wasted by hunger, soon forced Amad Dola to surrender,

Digitized by Google

and he retired with his family to the castle of Rot-Alyehud, where more than one Moorish king had survived the loss of his crown. Many of the Moorish nobles retired to Valencia and Murcia, but the greater number remained in their native town, where their property, and the free exercise of their faith, was secured to them by the conditions of the capitulation.

In 1120, Calatayud, considered as the bulwark of eastern Spain, fell into the hands of the king of Arragon, and the next year, the tyranny of the Almoravides having caused general discontent among the Spanish Moors, their attention was too fully occupied to make any inroad on the Christians. Alonzo had, meanwhile, undertaken to procure justice for Bertram, son of Ramon, count of Toulouse, who had been spoiled by Gullen of Poitiers of the estates of his father, who had died in the holy wars. Bertram agreed to do homage to the king of Arragon for Roxes, Agde, Cahors, Albi, Narbonne, Toulouse, and their dependencies, should he recover his estates; but as Alonzo's forces were chiefly employed in Castile and Catalonia, he was unable to reinstate Bertram; but the transaction tended to raise his importance among the other princes of Europe, and some years afterwards the descendants of Bertram enjoyed his patrimony by intermarriage with those of Gullen.

The count of Poitiers next endeavoured to seize on Provence; but Raymond Berenger, count of

Digitized by Google

Barcelona, insisting on the superior right of his wife, an agreement was made between them, by which each was to continue in possession of the provinces he already had; but in case of the failure of heirs in either of their families, the other should succeed.

Notwithstanding the loss of Calatayud, the Moors under Aly gained several advantages over the Christians this same year, and harassed the borders of Castile and of Portugal; but they were too much divided among themselves to undertake any expedition of consequence, at a time when the civil disturbances among the Christians, and the minority of the king of Castile, might have afforded an opportunity of doing so with effect. But, in fact, since the Almoravides had reigned over Spain, and had only occasionally visited it from Morocco, their African capital, the Moorish provinces had only held together by the fear inspired by the fresh African troops which were stationed as garrisons in the towns, and changed too often to acquire any habits of real fellowship with the citizens. These Africans were particularly obnoxious to the Christians, called Musarabs and *Muhahidines*, or those who from the first Arab conquest had accepted of terms, and had lived as brethren among their conquerors, enjoying the free exercise of their religion, and accompanying their friends and masters in war and peace.

But now a coarse and fanatic race, intolerant

Digitized by Google

alike of Jews and Christians, enemies of literature and refinement, had succeeded, and the Almuhahidines, oppressed by them, and unable to depend, as formerly, on the impartial justice of the first race of caliphs, naturally looked to their Christian brethren for assistance. They therefore entered into private agreements with Castile and Arragon, sent them notice of intended incursions, so that they might defend the threatened points of attack, and secure the inhabitants and their property, and often joined them in the field. These proceedings were reported to Aly in Morocco, and he instantly gave orders that all Christians should be removed from the places on the frontiers, and settled in the central parts of the Moorish territory, or carried over to the African coast. The wars became of a more sanguinary nature. In this age both religions had become fanatical in their character, and on more than one occasion the bishops who were in the field voted against giving quarter. Towns were consequently given up to the soldiery to pillage, and the honourable warfare of two chivalrous nations was exchanged for the brutal and sanguinary fighting of savages. The more ancient Spanish Moors were hardly more satisfied with their new masters than the Christians; taxed highly, they had the mortification of seeing the treasures of Spain, instead of returning to them through the generous and sometimes extravagant magnificence of their caliphs, transported to Africa, and lavished either on the embellishment of its barbarous cities, or in

Digitized by Google

making war on the tribes of the desert, or the sectaries who rose one after another, and seldom endeavoured to enforce a new religious doctrine but at the head of an army.

One of these sectaries at length overthrew the Almoravides, and established his dominion over Spain; for which reason we shall distinguish him from the rest, and relate his origin.

Ali ben Yusuf, the caliph of the Almoravides, had proscribed the doctrines of Algazali, a celebrated oriental teacher, and had even gone so far as to cause his books to be burnt. The aged pedagogue, when he heard of the indignity his works had met with, uttered a malediction on Ali, and wished that some disciple of his might arise, who should revenge him on the Almoravide. The wish was pronounced aloud in the academy where he taught, and awakened the enthusiasm of Abdalla, a native of Suz, and scholar of Algazali. He immediately returned to Africa, and took on him the title of the Mehedi, or apostle of Africa. On his way to Fez, where he intended to begin his preaching, he stopped at a village near Tremezin, and, struck with the appearance of a young boy named Abdelmumen, the nephew of a potter, he resolved to make him an instrument in his projected revolution. From the child's face he might easily prophesy the sagacity and bravery which afterwards distinguished him; but the Mehedi revealed something more to the uncle, in order to induce him to part with the boy. He showed him a

Digitized by Google

book of great pretended antiquity, in which Abdelmumen was mentioned as the future light of his country, and he engaged to provide for him as his own son. Accordingly he carefully instructed the youth in all the text and doctrines of the law, with the commentaries of the sages. From Fez, where he formed a party, the Mehedi proceeded to Morocco, and in a public festival, when the whole people were assembled in the mosque, he boldly walked to the upper end, and assumed the place where only the sovereign of the faithful was accustomed to appear. On being reminded by a bystander of the impropriety he was guilty of, he answered with a text of the Koran importing, "it is written that the mosque is sacred to God alone." This boldness and his austere virtue and self-denial, his great learning and his eloquence, soon seduced a multitude of people. Aly had at first taken him for some holy hermit or wandering teacher, who had come to Morocco, and therefore not only looked on him without fear, but told him that if he had any business in the city, full time and liberty should be allowed him to despatch it. The fanatic answered, that his business was not of this world, but much higher, and accordingly proceeded to preach against the city and its princes. Aly then commissioned his cadies and other learned men to examine into his doctrines and conduct. This was carefully done, and one of the commissioners advised the king to make a cage of iron for the Me-

Digitized by Google

hedi, if he did not wish to lose a house of gold; and all said that if the teacher were not put in chains, he would soon proclaim his doctrines with drums and trumpets. Aly, however, seeing the man poor and simple, despised their counsel, and he was allowed full liberty to preach. Fez being more convenient than Morocco for the promulgation of his doctrine, as being less under the immediate inspection of the government, he retired thither, and made converts for four years, when he again proceeded to the capital; and this time his boldness and success were such, that orders were given to apprehend him, and bring him to the caliph alive or dead. He had, however, timely notice, and fled to Tinmal, in the land of Suz, where he gave full scope to his enthusiasm and imposture. He declared himself to be the perfect prophet, whom Mahomet himself had foretold should arise in the latter days of the world; that he should reign over the whole earth with justice and equity, and destroy all tyranny. The assembly at which he first announced himself was held under a locust tree, and ten of his oldest followers immediately swore to live and die with him. The rest of the assembly instantly repeated the oath with loud acclamations, and the Mehedi from that time changed his character from that of a humble preacher to a conquering prophet. The boy Abdelmumen had grown in knowledge and boldness as well as years, and was considered as his lieutenant. The de-

Digitized by Google

votees who had followed the preaching became soldiers, and the armies of the new leader, under the name of Almohades, soon threatened the empire of the Almoravides. While these things were going on in Africa, the reign of Aly was not more tranquil in Spain. His army had been beaten at Syrena by the king of Arragon; and though Alonzo had been foiled in an attack on Grenada, his troops, among whom the Knights Templars and those of St. John of Jerusalem were now to be found, scoured the country, and kept it in continual alarm. The Moors too were ready to revolt, and such was the state of alarm that the *Azala*, or worship of fear, was general in every mosque. This *Azala of fear* is, when, on occasion of great public apprehension, the prayers, protestations, and ceremonies, are abridged, and persons are excused from attending the mosques, or allowed to attend them armed, and even unpurified and unwashed.

The next year, however, although the progress of the Mehedi in Africa so alarmed the inhabitants of Morocco that they fortified their city, yet in Spain a victory gained by the grandson of Aly over the Castilians and their allies in some measure retrieved his affairs. On this occasion the banners of the Almoravides were white, inscribed with the *le ille Allah!* and they formed the centre of the army; the Andalusian Moors occupied the wings, and their banners were of various colours, chiefly red, with elegant devices embroidered on them.

Digitized by Google

Their musical instruments were trumpets and kettle-drums; the latter chiefly carried on camels, and the whole army shouted as it fell on the Christians. The battle lasted all day. The carnage was horrible, and the Moors pursued the Christians till night hid them from their fury.

Meanwhile the Christian princes had been engaged anew in border wars. Donna Teresa, the widow of count Henry of Portugal, anxious to retain the government after her husband's death, sought the assistance of her nephew, the king of Castile, who accordingly entered the Portuguese territory, but was repulsed with loss by the young prince Affonzo, under the guidance of his foster-father, count Egas Nunez. But the resources of Portugal being as yet feeble, the same nobleman made peace with Castile on certain conditions. Some years after, the young Affonzo, who had taken on him the title of king of Portugal, having broken these conditions, Egas Nunez repaired to Toledo, where the king of Castile then was; and presenting himself with a halter round his neck, as one whose word had been treacherously broken, showed he was ready to suffer the pain incurred by such treason. But the king, moved by his age, did not exact the forfeit. Meanwhile the Moors lost the strong place of Calatrava, which was bestowed on the Knights Templars, or some other order established in imitation of them, and who afterwards became the celebrated knights of Calatrava.

Digitized by Google

The beginning of the following year was no less favourable to the Castilian arms; for although foiled in an attempt on Jaen, they overcame and destroyed a considerable army of Moors, led by the young chief Taxfin, whose valour had hitherto seemed to insure success to every enterprise. Aly was detained in Africa, where, though the Mehedi was dead, a more active chief had arisen in his follower Abdelmumen to direct the enterprises of the Almohades; and the pressing danger of his capital detained the prince in Morocco, while the Christians were every where gaining ground in Spain. The strong fortress of Rotalyehud was taken by the king of Castile; the territory of Molina was occupied; the Moors, who had by treaty been allowed to remain in Zaragoza, were deprived of many of their privileges, and most of them forced to retire. The place of the exiles was chiefly supplied by colonies from the south of France. The laws of Arragon were substituted for those of the Koran in a considerable part of Catalonia, and the dominion of the Christians thus rendered permanent.

Fortunately for their cause these things were settled before the year 1134, when Alonzo of Arragon was killed in the disastrous battle of Fraga, in the thirtieth year of his reign. He was distinguished in the field by the lustre of his arms and his white flowing robes. He had fought twenty-nine battles, in most of which he had been victo-

Digitized by Google

rious. He was wise, brave, and fortunate, and to him the Christians of Spain were accustomed to look as their best champion.

He died without children; but by his will he left the whole of Arragon to the Knights Templars, excepting some towns and villages which he settled on different churches and monasteries. The states of Arragon and Navarre, however, justly displeased at the assumption of a right to dispose of the kingdoms as private property, entirely disregarding the will, assembled at Borgia, on the frontiers of Navarre, and proceeded to elect a new king from among the nearest relations of the deceased. The Navarrese, who hated the Arragonians, took this opportunity of separating themselves from them, and chose for their sovereign don Garcia, descended from their ancient kings; for he was the grandson of don Sancho, who was, as we have seen, assassinated, and whose brother Raymond succeeded him, and annexed the kingdom to that of Arragon.

The cortes of Arragon had retired from Borgia to Monzon, where they proceeded to elect don Ramirez, the brother of Alonzo, although he had taken orders, and was at that time bishop of Roses. They also required him to marry, and for that purpose obtained a dispensation from pope Innocent II., in virtue of which he espoused Inez, sister of Gullen, lord of Poitiers, and also of Eleanor, who was first married to Louis the younger, king of

Digitized by Google

France, and afterwards to Henry II., king of England.

The division of Arragon and Navarre was naturally followed by civil war between these two countries, and the strife was increased by the pretensions of Alonzo of Castile upon Navarre, as descended from king Sancho Mayor, and those of the Knights Templars on Arragon, in virtue of the late king's will. Alonzo attacked the northern parts of Arragon, and took several towns, which he agreed to make over to Garcia on condition of his doing homage for them as a vassal to Castile, and they both determined to attack Ramirez, and divide his provinces between them.

In order to give more solemnity to their union, and to establish a more plausible claim to superiority over all Christian Spain, Alonzo assembled a general cortes at Leon, where he presided with his wife donna Berenguela and his sister donna Sancha, on whom he had bestowed the title of queen. On his right hand was placed Garcia of Navarre, on his left the bishop of Leon. The noble Christians who were present all agreed that Alonzo should take on him the style and title of emperor of Castile, and that Navarre, Arragon, Catalonia, and the south of France should be considered as feoffs holding of him. He was immediately crowned emperor by the archbishop of Toledo, and the act was solemnly approved by pope Innocent II., who was not sorry to see a power

Digitized by Google

rising which he hoped might serve as a counterpoise to that of the emperors of Germany. Alonzo then proceeded to Toledo, where he was a second time crowned emperor; but it is uncertain if he underwent the ceremony a third time, as was then usual: if he did so, it was probably at Compostella.

Meantime Ramirez, finding that he was unfit for the cares and office of a king in such turbulent times, assembled a cortes at Huesca, and declared his intention of making peace with Castile at any price; and having accomplished that, he contracted his infant daughter Petronella to Raimond, count of Barcelona, to whom he committed the care of the kingdom. This prince immediately taking upon himself to regulate its affairs, sought a personal interview with the king of Castile, and obtained from him the restitution of all those places he had seized during the first months of the reign of Ramirez, with the condition, however, of doing homage for such as lay north of the Ebro. Ramirez himself retired into a monastery, reserving the title of king and the power of interfering if necessary in the affairs of the government. This settlement gave universal satisfaction, and Arragon appears afterwards to have enjoyed more tranquillity than most other states during that unquiet period.

Meanwhile the young prince Alfonso of Portugal was distinguishing himself not only as a war-

Digitized by Google

rior, but as a statesman. Sensible of the barbarous state of his subjects, his first object was to polish and humanise them, for which reason he founded schools in different parts of his dominions, especially Coimbra, where he endowed a monastery for the better protection of letters; and shortly afterwards he built and endowed the superb convent of Alcobaca.

On the 25th July, 1139, assisted by the English and French fleets, which stopped at Oporto in their way to the Holy Land, he gained a complete victory over five Moorish kings or chiefs, on the plain of Ourique, and thenceforward bore on his escutcheon five small shields in the form of a cross, which superstition has fondly converted into a memorial of the five wounds of Christ, since the shields were won in battle against the enemies of his holy religion. On the field of battle he was proclaimed king of Portugal, and thenceforward all dependence on Castile ceased on the part of that kingdom. Shortly afterwards the famous constitution of Lamego was drawn up, which excluded strangers for ever from the throne of Portugal, and finally separated it from Spain.

The crusades had stirred the spirit of all Christians against the Saracens in whatever land they might be found, and a number of French and other adventurers joined the king of Castile, the regent of Arragon, and the other princes of Spain, and took Almeria, which, as it lay in the midst of the

Digitized by Google

Moorish provinces, and out of the reach of any Christian defender, was soon lost; and such were many of the conquests made by the headlong bravery of the crusaders, who, in order to win a temporary advantage over the infidels, would incur danger and death without once reflecting on the consequences, or even the power of maintaining a conquest when made; so that that bravery, which well directed would have advanced the general cause of Christendom, was wasted in fruitless combats, and sieges that terminated in nothing.

Seven years after the first siege of Almeria it was again taken by the king of Barcelona, assisted by the Pisans and the Genoese, the latter of whom received as part of their portion of the spoil the celebrated emerald cup in which tradition says Christ had poured the wine at the last supper. But this marvellous emerald, like the table of Solomon which Muza took, appears to have been only fine green glass.

In the meantime a threatened war between Castile and Navarre had been averted by the marriage of the heir of Alonzo with donna Blanche of Navarre; and the knights of St. John having claimed the kingdom of Arragon as theirs by the will of the last king, had been content to waive their claim on condition of receiving ample lands for the erection and maintenance of their houses, and a right to claim the service of a vassal of each of the three nations, Christian, Jew, and Moor, from among

Digitized by Google

the citizens of Zaragoza, Calatayad, Huesca, Balbastro, Doroca, and whatever place should thenceforth be conquered from the Moors. This agreement took several years to negotiate, but at length it received the assent of the grand master, the patriarch of Jerusalem, and pope Adrian IV.

The empire of the Almoravides was drawing to its close. The troops of Ali, composed of all the bravest warriors of Barbary, strengthened by a considerable body of Andalusians, both Moors and Christians, were defeated in the mountains above Telecen. The death of Ali, and soon after that of his successor Taxfin, left them without a chief of sufficient talent to make head against Abdelmumen. Oran speedily fell into his hands, and Morocco soon shared the same fate. Fez was taken by an extraordinary expedient. The river which passes through it runs along a narrow defile, which the Almohades dammed up, and when they had thereby collected a vast body of water, which seemed to fill the valley, they suddenly destroyed the dam, and the city walls were shaken and damaged, many houses were quite destroyed, and many of the people were drowned by the impetuosity of the flood. The water rushed into the city at dawn, just as the governor, a son of Ali, was about to celebrate his marriage with a beautiful maiden, who was also beloved by Abdalla of Jaen, whose grief and rage at losing her was one cause of the success of the Almohades against Fez: for he joined their

Digitized by Google

party and opened the gates to them after the damage occasioned by the water had been partly repaired.

Africa being thus subdued, Abdelmumen resolved to attack the Almoravides in Spain. He had already prepared vessels at Tanja and Algez, and early in 1145 he despatched his captain, Abu Amram Muza ben Said, with ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot to Algeziras, where they landed with little opposition. The civil wars of the Moors were for a moment suspended by this invasion. The Christians of Catalonia joined them in their opposition to the strangers; but in vain. New disputes arose among the different parties: the old Moors considered the Almohades and Almoravides as equally odious; and while the former were occupied with the siege of Seville, the latter attacked Cordova, under Aben Gania, who had called in the powerful assistance of the emperor Alonzo.

The day after Seville yielded to the new invader, Aben Gania and Alonzo entered Cordova, and the horses of the Christian host were stabled in the magnificent mosque of the Omeiads, and the sacred copy of the Koran of the caliph Othman, which was brought from Syria by Abdulrahman I., was profaned by the touch of the despisers of Mahomet. But Alonzo perceived that it would be impossible for him to keep a city so far from his own frontier, and therefore, after ten days, he retired with his troops

Digitized by Google

to Baeza, which he retained, as near enough to Toledo to be supported from thence in case of attack, and left the count Almanrik there as governor of the new frontier.

Meanwhile Abdelmumen had pursued his conquests in Africa till he had overtaken the last of the Almoravide kings, Ibrahim, a youth, whose age and innocence wrought so on the conqueror that he proposed to spare his life, but to keep him in perpetual prison. But one of the fanatics who accompanied him cried, "What! wouldst thou rear a young lion, that he may one day turn and tear us to pieces?" and the unfortunate young man was put to death with all his relations, in 1146, and thus ended the empire of the Almoravides, which had lasted upwards of eighty years.

The emperor Alonzo, Affonso of Portugal, and the count of Barcelona, all profited by the disturbances among the Moors. Portugal made no less a conquest than that of Lisbon; Lerida and Zaga were delivered from the Moors, and the Christian frontier daily extended itself. Of the emperor the Arab historians say; that the armies he collected were so numerous that all the fountains of Spain scarcely sufficed to allay their thirst, and that the mountains trembled and resounded under their feet. These armies, however, could not prevent the successes of the Almohades, who soon took possession of Cordova, the capital of their ally Aben Gania, whom they slew, to the secret joy of

Digitized by Google

the people, who thus saw the death of the last of the Almoravide leaders. Alonzo, as the friend of Aben Gania, declared his intention of avenging his death, and accordingly besieged Cordova; but the nature of an army in those days scarcely permitted of a long protracted undertaking. Each nobleman brought into the field such followers as his estates afforded, or those whom the fame of a particular leader drew to his standard. As regular means of supplying an army were seldom resorted to, as soon as a country had been pillaged, hunger dispersed the soldiers; and of the few mercenaries who were at this time employed, none remained beyond the time for which they were hired; and on the failure of their pay they often withdrew before the period agreed on, and their secession not unfrequently ruined a promising enterprise. Hence Alonzo's great preparation produced little effect beyond burning the harvests of the poor and ruining the labourers, who were equally useful to the Christians and the Moors; or if his attacks were much felt, it was in uniting the various parties and inducing them all to agree in imploring Abdelmumen to come in person into Spain and defend the sinking cause of the Mahometans.

That chief was, however, too much engaged in Africa to comply with their request until the year 1160, when he passed over to Algesiras, and going thence to Gibraltar, gave orders to have it fortified: and, accordingly, some of the works, which even

Digitized by Google

now defend that extraordinary place, are attributed to this period. In the following year he remained two months in that fortress, and received the deputies from all the Moorish cities in Spain; after which he made a successful incursion into the neighbourhood of Badajos, and carried off a multitude of prisoners, who were sold as slaves in Africa, and then returned to Morocco, where he died four years afterwards, just as he was preparing for another expedition into Spain. The character of Abdelmumen was infinitely superior, in some points, to that of any of the Almoravide caliphs. As hardy and successful in war, and as politic in peace, he joined to those qualities superior learning and a love of elegant literature. Shocked at the ignorance of his subjects of Morocco, he founded and endowed schools in all the principal towns, and instituted rewards for the most distinguished scholars.

The books of romance and tales of chivalry, which the harsh Almoravides had forbidden, he recalled from the oblivion into which they had fallen, and not only permitted, but enjoined their perusal, as a means of elevating the character and purifying the manners of youth. He was an encourager of all kinds of art and ingenuity, and the accounts of the machines constructed under his personal inspection, both for amusement and for use in war, seem to belong to a much more advanced age. He had

Digitized by Google

educated his sons with care, and left his kingdom to one every way worthy to succeed him.

But we must go back a few years, in order to carry on the history of the Christian states in the north of Spain. The king of Navarre, the emperor, and the count of Barcelona, appeared to be so equally prepared for defence, and so sensible of the advantages of mutual support, that there seemed little chance of hostilities between them, when the king of Navarre, don Garcia, was killed by a fall from his horse, while hunting in the neighbourhood of Pamplona. He had fully justified the choice of the cortes of Borgia; but his premature death leaving a minor on the throne, left the kingdom open to the attacks of his ambitious neighbours. Of his three children, Blanche had married don Sancho, the heir of Castile; Margaret was the wife of William the Bad, king of Sicily; and Sancho, his only son, succeeded him.

No sooner was the death of Garcia known, than the emperor Alonzo and count Raimond agreed to attack Navarre instantly, and divide it between them, the latter doing homage to the former for the part that was to fall to his share. But the young king, supported by the whole of the nobles, made so vigorous an opposition that they soon desisted from their iniquitous attempt. Count Raimond, indeed, was called upon to oppose the viscount of Carcassonne, who was disposed to raise a disturbance in

Digitized by Google

his estates in the south of France, but he soon reduced him to obedience, and obliged him to do his accustomed homage: and the emperor was busied in strengthening his connexions with the other powers in Europe. Louis the younger of France, insulted by the misconduct of Eleanor of Poitiers, had divorced her, and thereby lost his pretensions to Guienne, which she carried with her as a dowry to the king of England, whom she afterwards married. The emperor Alonzo considered this as a favourable opportunity for allying himself more closely with Louis, and offered his daughter Isabel, or Constance, to him in marriage, while he himself espoused Ricca, or Rechilda, the daughter of Ladislaus, duke of Poland.

Shortly after these two marriages had taken place, Louis undertook a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, and afterwards visited Alonzo at Toledo, where the magnificence of the palaces, the splendour of the amusements, and the martial appearance of the troops, both of Castile and of the count of Barcelona, who was present to do honour to the French king, were such as to draw from Louis an exclamation of thankfulness that he was the son-in-law of so great a monarch. But of all the treasures of Toledo offered him by Alonzo, he would accept nothing but a great carbuncle, which he presented, on his return to Paris, to the treasury of St. Denis, to ornament the reliquary containing the holy thorn. About this time, the queen of

Digitized by Google

Arragon, donna Petronilla, bore a son, named don Ramon, so that that kingdom had again a male heir. Her husband, Raimond, count of Barcelona, never took on him the title of king, but under that of prince governed in her name with such judgment and success, that his fame was spread all over Europe. His greatest embarrassment arose from the reiterated claims of the Templars, who were constantly urging the will of Alonzo as a pretence for farther encroachments on the property of the crown of Arragon. He, however, made use of them by giving to their charge the frontier towns, winning by degrees the Moorish castles on the banks of the Segre and the Cinga, and forming a barrier against the future invasions of that people.

The death of the emperor, don Alonzo, once more divided the kingdoms of Leon and Castile: his eldest son, Sancho, who was married to Constance of Navarre, the great-grand-daughter of the Cid, succeeded to Castile, and Ferdinand to Leon. Alonzo was on his way from Toledo to Burgos, when he was taken ill in the Sierra Morena, and being unable to proceed, a tent was pitched for him under an ilex, where he died, in August, 1157, in the fifty-second year of his age. He was a prince of great talents and virtue. Politic in peace; active and daring in war; beloved by his subjects; feared and respected by his enemies; and doing justice, as much as was possible, in those turbulent times.

Digitized by Google



Woman riding on a mule.

With regard to the state of letters, which have so much influence on that of manners, in this half century, it is a curious fact, that the use of the Arabic tongue had become so general in the reign of Alonzo VII., that all the public acts were written in it. In the church of Toledo above 2000 of these acts were found, and in that of Madrid 500; and even two centuries later, the public notaries signed writs in both languages.

Cordova and Seville, however they might be disturbed by war, continued to maintain the high character of their colleges. Averroes and Abenzoar, in the former, were introducing the philo-

Digitized by Google

sophy of Greece, and cultivating the science of Arabia. In Seville the naturalist, commonly called Eben él Awàm, produced that curious book which the learned Casiri desired to see translated, and which is now published in Spanish, together with the Arabic original by the diligence of J. A. Banqueri. This work, which is called the "Book of Agriculture," treats not only of the sorts of land adapted for different productions, manures, and changes of crops, but also of orchards and gardens. The manner of grafting trees, flowers, and the cucurbitaceous plants, is explained at length; and the affinities of plants, their medicinal qualities, and the length of their lives, are also discussed. The treatment of the horse, mule, and ass, that of cattle and sheep, and the management of domestic poultry, pigeons, and bees, also find a place. The choice of farm-servants is much insisted on; and there is a curious chapter on the methods of preserving and pickling fruits and vegetables. No less than a hundred and twenty authors, including Columella, are quoted; but those most frequently referred to are Aben Hajez of Grenada, and the agriculture of Nabathea*. Poetry flourished among the Moors, at least as much as ever; and they seemed to find, in their songs and ballads, some relief from

* Nabathea, that country lying west of the Euphrates to the Mediterranean Sea.

Digitized by Google

the consciousness of their sufferings under the tyranny of the Almoravides and Almohades.

As to the domestic government of Spain, the cities appear, in most instances, to have been governed, from a very early period, by a council of their own magistrates. However the custom grew up, whether it was imitated from the Moorish Alhama, or congregation, where the cadi presided over a select number of elders, whose office it was to regulate the civil affairs of the town; or whether it was a relic of the practice of the ancient Goths, it became now an object of attention to the kings.

That which habit and the right acquired by long usage gave they now confirmed, or conferred by charters of corporation, and these charters, while they assured the cities and their councils of protection, bound them to certain services to the king. In a charter granted by Alonzo V. to Leon, 1020, he mentions the council of that city in terms that show it to have existed long before. Most corporate towns were bound to do military service, those especially on the frontiers were to assist in protecting their own neighbourhood from the Moors; and many were required to furnish certain kinds of assistance whenever the king took the field. And this was the case also with some of the Moorish towns, which, in return for certain privileges, performed certain services, or paid certain sums. But, indeed, many of the feudal customs

Digitized by Google

of Europe seem to have obtained also among the Moorish nations.

As to the private manners, we may, perhaps, form some judgment respecting them, from the account given of the entertainments at Leon on the marriage of the king of Navarre with the emperor's daughter Urracca.

There were jousts and tourneys, and bulls were chased and fought; and after these more serious games were over, a large pig was let loose in an enclosed place, and two blind men, armed with staves, chased him by his grunting, and whichever could knock him down received him as a prize. The amusement of the spectators arose chiefly from the blows which the competitors inadvertently gave each other.

The funerals, both of the Christians and Moors, seem to have been performed with pomp. Coffins, finely wrought of cypress-wood, adorned with gold, and filled with myrrh and camphor, are often mentioned; and a long train of attendants and mourners was considered honourable to the deceased. The tombs were ornamented, and in Castile, at least, black clothes were worn in sign of mourning, a custom that does not appear to have prevailed in France or Italy at that period.

In these warlike times hunting was of course a favourite amusement, and the breed of horses, dogs, and hawks was diligently attended to; and among

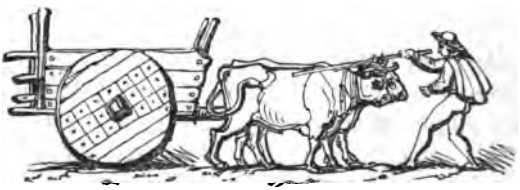
Digitized by Google

the great it was a fashion to keep tame lions or panthers. About this time also we find mention made of birds brought from Africa that spoke either Moorish or Castilian, and which were allowed to remain in the apartments, and partake of the food of their owners; so that the parrot has long been made a domestic favourite.

The ingenuity of the mechanics of those times must have been great, if we credit the description of a pulpit and a pew constructed for Abdelmumen in his principal mosque. The pulpit of aromatic wood was skilfully wrought with scrolls and flowers, its clasps and hinges of wrought gold. The pew, or station at prayers, was no less costly, and was adapted for moving at will without noise; it had six folding pieces, whereby it might be enlarged, and the hinges of these were so disposed that, like the wheels, they might be used without noise; and the pulpit and pew were so *geometrically* constructed as that they always moved evenly and together as soon as any one of the doors by which the king entered was unclosed: and as for the pulpit, as the preacher ascended the steps its door gradually opened, and when he was within, it shut without noise with a smooth motion; and the king and his whole family entered the pew in the same manner. The maker of these machines was Alhas Yahix of Malaga, who was also much employed in the construction of mills and of warlike instruments.

Digitized by Google

He was the engineer who laid out the works of Gibraltar. The works of Alhas Yahix are described in some excellent verses by Abu Bekir ben Murber, not very unlike some of Darwin's descriptive poetry.



Common cart, drawn by oxen.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALONZO VII. IN 1157, TO THE DEATH OF ALONZO VIII., SURNAMED THE NOBLE, 1214



ELEANOR OF ENGLAND,
Wife of don Alonzo the Noble, from her seal.

On the death of the emperor, don Alonzo VII. of Castile, his two sons succeeded him. Sancho III. became king of Castile, Biscay, and Toledo, and Ferdinand II. had Leon and Gallicia. Both these princes were well trained in the arts of peace

Digitized by Google

and war; but Sancho was the most beloved on account of his mild and humane disposition, and for that and for his early death he was surnamed the *Deseado*, Desired.

No sooner was the death of Alonzo known than Sancho, surnamed the Wise, king of Navarre, broke into Castile, and alarmed the country, even to the gates of Burgos, and the Almohades also attacked the borders of the territory of Toledo. But Sancho the Desired sent a body of troops against those of Navarre, who did not wait for their coming, but suddenly returned to their own country, while he himself remained to quiet the disturbances in the south.

His short reign, for he survived his father but one year and ten days, was distinguished by nothing but the foundation of the military order of Calatrava, originally called that of the Knights of St. Julian. The town of Calatrava, when first taken from the Moors, had been given to the Knights Templars; but they, hopeless of being able to maintain it, returned it into the king's hands in the beginning of Sancho's reign. The Cistertian monks, however, offered to make it good against the Moors; and aided by the money of the archbishop of Toledo, in whose diocese it was, and the voluntary assistance of some of the Castilian noblemen, the monks kept their word. Sancho, therefore, gave the lordship of Calatrava and its lands to the abbot Raymond and the brethren for ever;

Digitized by Google

and this was the origin of the religious and military order of Calatrava, that became so famous in after times.

In the same year died Sancho III., leaving an only child, Alonzo VIII., of three years of age. He had placed him under the guardianship of the noble family of Castro, one of whose members, Guttierez, was the foster-father of the little king. Now among the nobles of Castile there was one family that vied in pride, riches, and power with that of Castro. It was the house of Lara; the first husband of the lady of Lara was the count of Cabra, intimately connected with the royal family, and their son, don Garcia Acia, was an additional support to their pride and their interest. By his means the young king was taken from the hands of Guttierez de Castro, and placed in those of Manriquez de Lara, who, rendered insolent by this advantage, demanded of the lords of Castro those towns which they held in trust for the young Alonzo. This demand they of course resisted, alleging the will of king Sancho, who left those towns in their hands until his son should have attained his fifteenth year.

Don Fernando, king of Leon, was soon informed of the disturbances in Castile, and thought the opportunity favourable for again uniting the two kingdoms. Regardless of the ties of nature which bound him to the baby king (*Rey-pequeno*) as Alonzo was then called, he invaded his dominions,

Digitized by Google

seized on great part of it, took possession of Burgos, and pursued the Laras and the little king to Soria. There, as there was no chance of escape, Manriquez gave the child into the keeping of the citizens, while he and his brothers went out of the town to compliment Ferdinand. A meeting of the nobles and bishops then took place, and Ferdinand demanded the custody of his nephew, and announced his intention of only permitting him to enjoy Castile as a feof of Leon, and of causing him and his guardians at that very time to do homage for it. The child was accordingly claimed from the citizens, who, on giving him up, said, "Free we deliver him, free you must keep him."

Now, on his way to the hall where the humiliating ceremony of doing homage was to take place, the child wept, and clung to his guardian, who, on pretence of pacifying him and giving him food, took him aside to his own house. There they found don Pedro Nunez, lord of Fuente Almeger, one of the Ricos hombres of Castile; he instantly seized the king, and, wrapping him in his cloak, leaped on his horse, which was in waiting, and galloped off with his precious charge to Santestivan; but that place not being safe, don Nunio de Lara, who, under pretence of recovering the king, and delivering him to his uncle, had ridden after him, removed him to the fortress of Atienza, and afterwards to Avila, a strong place, the citizens of which defended him bravely, and kept him

Digitized by Google

securely until his eleventh year, when he began to assume the royal functions. Hence the men of Avila were long distinguished by the name of the faithful, and enjoyed especial privileges.

Fernando, enraged at the Laras, sent to challenge them to combat, on account of their having broken faith with him; but, resolving not to embroil the kingdom more, they contented themselves with saying, "that it might be that they had broken faith with *him* by not delivering up his nephew; but they had kept their honour and their duty by not suffering the disgrace of their king, to whom their natural faith was due."

Ferdinand now, not content with ravaging Castile himself, and taking possession of its most important places, engaged the king of Navarre in a new war against it; and the Castros, incited by their enmity to the house of Lara, had also taken part with Leon. These disturbances between the two principal Christian states of Spain gave a respite to the Moors, and allowed the Almohades time to fix themselves permanently in Andulasia.

On the side of Portugal, indeed, they lost ground, and Lope, the Moorish king of Murcia, had been reduced to pay tribute to the prince of Arragon.

Meantime the civil wars of Castile had compelled Rica, or Richilda, the widow of Alonzo VIII. to take refuge with Raimond, count of Barcelona and prince of Arragon. She took with her her daughter

Digitized by Google

Sancha, who had been betrothed to the young heir of Arragon; and the protection afforded these princesses gave rise to the story of count Raymond's doing battle for the honour of a widowed queen in Germany. At the request of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa, whose relation she was, Richilda married Raymond Berenger, count of Provence; and it was stipulated that the counts both of Provence and Barcelona should do homage, for the lands they held in the south of France, to Germany. To complete the treaty to this effect, the two Raymonds set out to visit the emperor at Turin. They had only reached San Dalmacio on their way, however, when Raymond, prince of Arragon, was taken ill, and died in a few days. He left three sons and one daughter, by his wife Petronilla, queen of Arragon in her own right. His eldest son, Raymond, who changed his name to Alonso, inherited the throne of Arragon; his second son was, by his father's will, to have the feofs held of the empire; and the third was to succeed the second, if he died without heirs. The daughter Dulce was afterwards married to the king of Portugal.

Queen Petronilla found herself unable to maintain the government of Arragon, where several pretenders to the crown arose; she therefore obtained the assistance of Raymond Berenger, who managed the kingdom for two years, when, being recalled to his own states by the attacks of his

Digitized by Google

powerful neighbours, he died in 1166; and Petronilla gave up the crown to her son, then thirteen years of age, who afterwards assumed the titles of count of Barcelona and Rousillon, and marquis of Provence.

In the year 1170 Alonzo of Castile, being now of age, assembled the cortes of the kingdom at Burgos. That city and many others had thrown off the yoke of Leon the moment the king began to govern in his own person, and Ferdinand, unable to maintain himself in Castile, had wisely withdrawn his troops, and was now in strict alliance with his nephew. Toledo had given the first example of setting up the standard of Alonzo the Noble. Estevan de Illan, one of the chief men of the place, had built a tower, and dedicated a church, to Saint Roman, where he had hoisted the flag of independence, and proclaimed his lawful king; and thence the spirit spread all over the country, so that in less than two years Alonzo was possessed of his whole patrimony. The chief matters treated of in the cortes at Burgos were the acknowledgment of the king and his marriage with Eleanor, daughter of Henry II. of England, a beautiful and virtuous princess, of the same age with the king, who was to bring, as a dowry, the right to Gascony, lying contiguous to Guipuscoa, an apanage of Castile.

Meantime the king of Arragon, for some reason, had conceived doubts as to the propriety of fulfilling

Digitized by Google

his matrimonial engagements with donna Sancha of Castile, the aunt of Alonzo the Noble, and consequently sent an embassy to Constantinople to ask the hand of Eudocia, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus; but by the time that lady arrived at Montpelier, all impediments to the fulfilment of his first engagement being removed, he had married Sancha, and the Greek princess, with her guardians and companions, applied for protection to William VIII. lord of Montpelier. He consulted the town-council of that place, and by their advice forcibly married the lady, by whom he had a daughter, who became the mother of don Jayme, one of the greatest of the Spanish kings. But William afterwards brutally abandoned Eudocia, and contracted a marriage with another lady; a proof, if any need be, of the barbarous manners of the times.

These various connexions with foreign nations, and the gradual increase of their dominions, encouraged the Christian kings of Spain to form more decided plans than they had hitherto done for the final reduction of the Moors. Accordingly, at a conference held for that purpose in 1179, they laid out the whole of the Moorish territory into partitions, and to each of the Christian kings one of these partitions was to belong; and although another should make war and overcome the Moors within its limits, still the conquest should belong to the state to whom the portion was originally

Digitized by Google

assigned. But the wars that continually arose among the Christians themselves saved the Moors from the immediate effect of this partition. Affonso of Portugal and Ferdinand of Leon had quarrelled as to the limits of their frontiers, and Affonso had been taken prisoner, but was afterwards liberated. Sancho the Wise of Navarre had invaded Castile, and wasted the lands in the neighbourhood of Cardena: but the priest of San Pedro of that place, having gone out to meet him with the banner of Ruy Diaz de Bivar the Cid Compeador, Sancho not only spared those lands from farther injury, but restored such things as had been taken from the vassals.

The character of the Almohad prince, who at this time ruled in Spain, was also a great barrier against the Christians. Yusuf Amumenin had succeeded his father Abdelmamun. To the warlike qualities of his family he joined a magnificent spirit and a great love of letters. He built a magnificent alhama, or court-house, in Seville, part of which still exists as it was in his time, to attest his taste and grandeur; and he encouraged learning and industry.

His two first expeditions against the Christians were successful. He drove in from the borders of Portugal numerous cattle, and took many prisoners. Nor was his lieutenant, Cid Abu Bekir, less fortunate in the neighbourhood of Toledo, under whose walls he routed a body of troops commanded

Digitized by Google

by don Sancho, whom the Moors call Abulbarda, on account of a magnificent halbert with which he went to battle. In the east Tarragona was taken from the king of Arragon.

In order to win the affections of his Andalusian subjects, he married the sister of the chief of Denia and Xelba; and to do her due honour, he built for her a house of most exquisite beauty both in design and execution, and adorned it with every thing that was precious.

But Yusuf's third algehed was fatal to him. He had resolved to recover Santerem from Portugal, and assembled a great force before that place. Day and night he battered the walls with the prodigious engines he had brought with him, till having shaken them considerably, he removed his camp to the north of the city, whence he trusted to renew the attack with complete success. Having resolved, during the siege, on making a predatory excursion towards Lisbon, he sent orders for that purpose to his son Isaac, who was in a different part of the camp; but, by some mistake, the prince, instead of waiting till the morning afterwards, and taking only a select body of troops with him, set off that night, and all the army, save the king's own guard, followed him. The Christians within the city, seeing in the morning that the king's own tent was almost the only one that remained, sallied out to attack it, and notwithstanding the most obstinate resistance of the guard, Yusuf was wounded so

Digitized by Google

severely that he expired on the road to Seville. His body was carried to Africa, but his son and successor, Yacub, caused his death to be concealed until his arrival at Sallee.

Affonso of Portugal only survived him a few months, and his death was followed, three years afterwards, by that of Ferdinand king of Leon.

This king married, first, Urraca, daughter of don Affonso of Portugal, by whom he had a son, Alonzo, who succeeded him; but being divorced from her at the instigation of the bishops, on account of her near relationship, he married donna Teresa, of the house of Lara, and, after her death, donna Urraca Lopez.

A little before this time the kings of Navarre and Castile, weary of the protracted frontier war, which wasted their subjects, and procured no essential advantage to any party, agreed to refer their differences to Henry II., king of England, the most renowned prince of his time. The instructions given to the ambassadors are curious. They are desired not to take advantage of the arrival of one party before the other, but to wait and plead their cause, face to face, before the king of England, by a certain day; but if either party delayed his appearance beyond that day, the king, whose party failed, was to lose his cause. Each ambassador, besides his usual train, was accompanied by some knights, who were to do battle in the presence of Henry, in their master's cause, and so decide his

Digitized by Google

claims, in case Henry himself should decline to arbitrate between his son-in-law and the king of Navarre.

The ambassadors found Henry at Windsor, and there the bishop of Palencia, on the part of Castile, and the bishop of Pamplona, on that of Navarre, explained to Henry the nature of the quarrel between their masters. The king of England laid the matter before his lords, prelates, and barons, and pronounced sentence according to their advice, and the sentence was agreeable to both the contending parties; for Castile obtained the frontier towns he needed, and Navarre received a sum for them, extremely necessary in the then state of the affairs of that kingdom. It is remarkable, that two of the four fortresses, given by Castile as securities at the beginning of the negotiation, and one of the four given by Navarre, are expressly called towns of the Jews, which proves that that people were still very numerous and wealthy in Spain.

But it would be endless to relate all the treaties that were entered into and broken by the five Christian kings of Navarre, Arragon, Castile, Leon, and Portugal, who divided Spain. Among such near neighbours disputes about boundaries were continually occurring, and it was only when they made common cause against the Moors, the enemies of all alike, that they deserve to be considered as a nation.

The confederation of Leon, Arragon, and Na-

Digitized by Google

varre, against Castile, in 1189, was taken advantage of by Yacub, the son and successor of Yusuf Amumenin, who made an inroad into the Christian territory, and is said to have carried off thirteen thousand women and children captives to Africa, and shortly afterwards to have sent as many prisoners of all kinds, in strings of fifties, from the Christian borders to Grenada.

This state of things, however, roused Alonzo the Noble, and he resolved to undertake a war against Yacub, and to invite all Christian knights to join him. For this purpose he assembled a cortes in Carrion in the year 1192, the second he had held in that town, but it was not till two years afterwards, that, accomplishing a truce with Sancho VIII., called the Strong, who had lately succeeded his father, Sancho the Wise, king of Navarre, and with Alonzo of Arragon, he was able to collect a sufficient force to take the field against the Moslem.

Meantime, Yacub had visited Africa to regulate his affairs in that quarter, which was often disturbed by the turbulent tribes, both of Barbary and the confines of Negroland. He was detained there by sickness, till the king of Castile, becoming impatient to measure forces with him, wrote him an arrogant challenge, inviting him, if he did not choose to come to Spain to fight, to send ships to fetch his Christian adversaries to combat on his own native land. No sooner had Yacub Almanzor

Digitized by Google

read the challenge than his rage was kindled, and he sent for his son, Cid Mahommed, and put it into his hands to answer. The young man wrote this verse of the Koran, "Allah the omnipotent hath said, I will turn upon them, and they shall be trampled into dust by armies that they have not seen, and there shall be no way to escape, and I will throw them into the deep, and I will undo them." Then his father approved the answer, and sent it by the young man who brought the challenge.

And Yacub caused the red flag and the great sword to be brought out, and assembled all the Almohades, and Arabs, and Zanetes, and Massamudes, and published a holy war, and passed over into Spain with all his troops and machinery and provisions, and arrived at Alarcos in July, 1195. On the nineteenth of that month the Christian host met him, and there ensued one of the most bloody and disastrous battles that had been fought since that in which don Roderic first lost Spain to the Moors. The night before the battle was passed by Yacub, on his knees, upon the carpet of prayer, entreating for his people; and a little before dawn his eyes became heavy, and he slumbered and dreamed that he saw the gates of heaven open, and a warrior on a white horse appeared, and in his hand was a green banner, which he unrolled, and covered the whole earth. On which he awoke, and conceived great hopes of success, for green was

Digitized by Google

the colour of the banner of the prophet, and he considered his dream as a vision granted to assure him of the success of the Mahometans.

In the morning he ordered his line of battle, and placed the machines for discharging arrows and javelins in front. But it would be too long to relate the names which have been preserved of the chiefs of all the tribes, and of their banners, and of their cries of battle.

Alonzo the Noble, on his side, fought with desperate valour; but nothing could save his army. Some of his nobles seeing him almost surrounded, and that the white banner of Yacub, on which was embroidered the first verse of the Koran, was waving nearly over his head, laid hands on him, and dragged him by violence from the field, and fled with him to Alarcos, and thence to Toledo. The Moors shortly afterwards entered Alarcos, and took Calatrava, Guadalaxara, and some small places, with which Yacub ended the campaign, and entered Seville in triumph.

The loss of the Christians was severe; many nobles and knights were slain, and among the rest Martinez, the third grand master of the order of Calatrava.

It appears singular that Yacub should not have followed up his victory; but the terms on which a holy war, or algihed, against the Christians were preached, promising only the distant rewards of paradise, and the chance of plunder, to those who

Digitized by Google

joined the caliph's standard, gave no security of subsistence during a long campaign, and therefore the first battle, whether successful or otherwise, as it earned paradise for the Moslem engaged in it, fulfilled the engagement, and the volunteers, of course, dispersed.

On Yacub's return to Morocco he caused his son, Mohammed Abu Abdalla, to be acknowledged as his heir, and shortly afterwards died. On his deathbed he repented of three things; 1st, of having brought the mixed Arabs into Morocco; 2d, of having wasted his revenue in building the town of Rabat; and, 3d, of having set free twenty thousand Christian prisoners after the battle of Alarcos. Yacub Almanzor was the best and most virtuous of the Almohad princes, and his reign had been glorious and happy.

One year before the death of Yacub, Christendom suffered a great loss in don Alonzo I., king of Arragon, the second in power in Spain, and perhaps the first in greatness of mind and talent. He died at Perpignan in April 1196, leaving his crown to his eldest son don Pedro II. The kingdom of Arragon became rich and flourishing in his reign; he had encouraged the coming in of colonists from the south of France to replace the Moors, whom he appears to have induced to emigrate without violence. He compelled several Moorish kings to pay him tribute, and maintained the rights of Arragon and the independence of its provinces against every

Digitized by Google

claimant. He was fond of letters. He is said not only to have encouraged the trouveurs, but to have written songs and rhymes himself in the vernacular tongue, and endowed a Christian school in Zaragoza.

Meanwhile a dispute arose between the kings of Castile and Leon, concerning the appointment of a grand master of the order of Santiago, an order originally instituted to protect the pilgrims who should visit the shrine of St. James at Compostella. The king of Leon sought the assistance of the Moors, who, aided by his troops, ravaged the neighbourhood of Talavera, and besieged Toledo itself for ten days, but without effect.

The king of Navarre is said even to have visited Africa, and to have married the caliph's daughter, as a condition of the succours he solicited against Castile, and Alonzo the Noble was reduced to extreme peril. But his great heart never failed him. Applying to his cousin Peter the catholic, king of Arragon, he made a league with him, and both kings entered the states of Leon, seized many towns and villages, and revenged the injuries done to Castile. They also made a truce for ten years with the Almohades; so that Leon and Navarre could no longer command their powerful assistance, and the war among the four Christian states of the north of Spain raged with a most mischievous fury.

Portugal alone carried on with steadiness the great contest with the Moors. Sancho I. sur-

Digitized by Google

named the *Poblador*, on account of the number of Christian colonies which he settled in the country, gained one by one the greater number of the towns of Alentejo and Algarve. Availing himself of the assistance of a fleet of French, English, and Flemish crusaders, he had also gained Lisbon, and by every means in his power induced the Moorish population to quit the country, and filled up its place with such foreigners as he could bribe to settle there.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Leon had been placed under an interdict by pope Innocent III. because the king persisted in retaining his wife Theresa, sister of the king of Portugal, whom the bishops had pronounced divorced on account of consanguinity. At length, however, the people beginning to complain of Alonzo's obstinacy, and attributing to the anger of Heaven the famine that then distressed the greater part of Spain, he sent Theresa back to Portugal, where she entered a monastery, and where her exemplary life was such that many centuries afterwards she was canonised. The fulfilment of this sentence of divorce made an opening for procuring peace with Castile, for Alonzo married Berenguela, the eldest daughter of Alonzo of Castile and Eleanor, who had been contracted, but not married, to Conrad, son of the emperor Frederic Barbarossa. In this marriage, however, Alonzo was not more happy than in his former one. The lady was related to him in the same degree, and Inno-

Digitized by Google

cent III. again interfered to annul it, and again placed his kingdom under an interdict, until his mandate should be complied with. The dispute with the holy see lasted for many years; but at length Berenguela was sent back to Castile, having had five children, and lived with her husband fifteen years.

The king of Navarre, abandoned by his allies, and disappointed in his hopes of obtaining assistance from his brother-in-law, Richard Cœur de Lion, king of England, who was killed at the siege of Chaluz, consented to make a truce with Castile, on the intervention of the pope. And this he did the more readily as he had shut himself up from all society on account of a cancer in his leg, which began during his visit to Africa.

The king of Castile obtained additional importance by the marriage of his daughter Blanche with Louis, dauphin of France. John Lackland, king of England, being engaged in war with Philip of France, Eleanor of Anjou, the mother of John, brought the two kings to terms, on condition that the dauphin should marry her grand-daughter, Blanche of Castile, whom John should endow with all the places in dispute between the crowns. The younger sister of Blanche, donna Urraca, shortly afterwards married don Affonso of Portugal, who succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, Sancho I. Alonzo the Noble had long wished to possess Guipuzcoa, which had hitherto been held

Digitized by Google

by the kings of Navarre, though claimed by Castile; and being now secure on all sides from other enemies, he invaded and seized that province, which has continued ever since to belong to Castile. He next resolved to repair and strengthen the walls of all the sea-ports in Biscay. St. Sebastian's, Fontarabia, Santander, and several others were put in a state of defence, and the whole country felt the advantages of an interval of peace.

Pedro II., king of Arragon, had had violent disputes with his mother, Sancha of Castile, an ambitious woman, who, discontent at losing the power she had enjoyed during the minority of her son, had attempted to retain some of the strongest castles of the kingdom in her own hands; but the powerful mediation of Alonzo the Noble procured peace, and left don Pedro at liberty to undertake a voyage he had much at heart; namely, to go to solicit the assistance of the Genoese and Pisans against the Moors, who were again in possession of the whole of the Balearic islands. But he continued his voyage to the Tiber, and having proceeded to Rome, pope Innocent III. received him honourably, and unwilling to lose an opportunity of arrogating to himself the superiority over all temporal princes, he caused him to be anointed in the church of St. Pancras; and whereas the princes of Arragon were not wont to assume the regal insignia until they were either married or were dubbed knights, Innocent from this time granted them the title of

Digitized by Google

king from the hour of the death of their predecessors, and Pedro did homage for his kingdom in return for that grant, besides agreeing to pay a yearly pension to the holy see.

These things, however, were very unwelcome to the states of Arragon, who were naturally jealous of the absolute independence of their country; and Pedro, to content them, refused a marriage offered by the pope, with Mary, daughter of Isabel, queen of Jerusalem, and contracted one with Mary, daughter of William VIII., count of Montpelier, and of Eudocia, daughter of the Greek emperor Manuel Comnenus, whose marriage has been already mentioned.

The ten years' truce with Mohammed, the Almohade caliph, was now about to expire, and the Christians longed to wipe out the disgrace of the battle of Alarcos. Affonzo, the young king of Portugal, treading in his father's steps, harassed the Moors of Algarve. Pedro II. of Arragon had already prepared to attack the maritime places of the Mahometan dominions, and the lords of Castile and Leon begun to renew their incursions in Andalusia. Mohammed, who had been fully engaged in Africa, heard of these hostilities with pleasure. When he could lead the various tribes of Barbary, Morocco, and the Desert, against the Christians, his own power was safe. He accordingly called upon them all to join him in a holy war, and, crossing over to Algeziras, advanced into the country in the usual

Digitized by Google

direction, and took Salvatierra. He then went to Seville, where the Almohades had fixed their capital, and received the envoys of several princes and nobles, both Christians and Mahometans, who, either from fear or from jealousy of their neighbours, sought his friendship.

On the other hand, the king of Castile sent the bishop of Segovia to Italy to solicit the indulgence of the pope, and leave to preach a crusade against the Mahometans of Spain, while the archbishop of Toledo went to France to obtain succours there. Toledo was the appointed place for all who would join the cause to meet, and there the cortes of the kingdom was assembled to concert the best means for opposing the Saracens or Moors; and there also was the head-quarters for all the knights who chose to show their prowess against the infidels in the mean time. At the head of these was the infant don Ferdinand, the eldest son of Alonzo and Eleanor the Noble. His character and actions had proved him worthy of his parents, and the love and hopes of the people were fixed on him. But in the course of the next year, having over-fatigued himself in an expedition against the common enemy, he died of a malignant fever at Madrid, where most of his family were assembled, leaving his father without an heir, and the nation bereft of its dearest hope.

But now the host assembled at Toledo was ready to take the field. It was composed of a mixed multitude from various countries. Their numbers

Digitized by Google

are stated variously, at from fifty thousand to double that number. Like the crusaders who marched to Syria, their zeal was inflamed against every man who did not profess the orthodox Christian faith according to the church of Rome; hence they had nearly produced a civil war in Toledo by falling on the Jews and Musarabic Christians, whose external conformity to the Moorish faith rendered them as odious as the Mahometans themselves. Alonzo soon sent these from the city to attack the different castles of the enemy, while he received and marshalled the more tractable Spanish and Portuguese troops. To the foot soldiers he agreed to pay five-pence, and to the horsemen twenty-pence a-day. The store of provisions that had been collected was so great, that seventy thousand beasts of burden were employed in transporting it. The van, consisting of the foreign volunters, was headed by don Diego de Haro, a man who had lived much among the Moors, and knew their manner of warfare.

The main body was led by the king of Arragon, and the reserve of 14,000 horse was headed by Alonzo the Noble, and thus they marched from Toledo and entered the mountains of La Mancha. A shepherd accustomed to the hills led them by paths, only known to such as had passed their lives on the spot, to a plain near the Moorish castle of Tolosa, called by the Moors Alacab, and by the Christians the Navas, or plains of Tolosa. After the battle the gratitude of the Castilians converted the shepherd into an angel, and the certainty with

Digitized by Google

which he guided them is considered as one of the miracles which the superstition of the times attributed to the Navas of Tolosa.

Mohammed came to the place with his army shortly after the Christian kings had pitched their tents. He caused his red pavilion to be erected on a knoll, and he seated himself upon his shield in the midst of it, and placed his horse before him; a circle of his guards surrounded him, in front of whom were placed the troops with their banners and their drums, headed by the vizir. The fight was fierce. The African volunteers perished to a man: the Andalusian chiefs, who just before the battle had been insulted by the vizir in the person of one of their companions, retreated from the field; the Almohades and Arabs fought bravely, but the day was lost, and the Christians had ample compensation for the loss of Alarcos. Alonzo's troops now reached the circle of negro guards that surrounded Mohammed, but they were as an impenetrable shield, till wearied with the impetuous and repeated attacks of the Castilian horse, they began to give way, and just as the knights had reached the red tent, an Arab entered, and said, "What art thou about, O commander! already the will of God is done, and the Moslem are conquered." Then Mohammed, who had sat still till then on his shield, repeating a verse of the Koran, rose, and would have mounted his horse; but the Arab forced him to take a fleet mare he had brought with him, and mounting the horse himself, they escaped

Digitized by Google

from the field with the miserable remains of an army that in the morning had seemed fit for the conquest of empires. The Christians in this battle gave no quarter: the slaughter was horrible, and much of it was committed on those who could not defend themselves. Seven prelates were in the field, promising eternal rewards to the conquerors of the infidels; and religious enthusiasm, added to the brutal excitement of the battle, made the soldiers forget that they were men and professed Christians. The iron cross with which one of the prelates broke several times through the Moorish ranks still exists, and was long looked on as a holy relic. The loss of the Christians was small. Some of the chronicles say only twenty-five men; but that is as untrue as the account of miraculous figures seen in the air, which was also added to the history of the battle.

It is enough to say that from this time the power of the Moors in Spain declined, and that of the Christian princes became permanent. Yet many battles were yet to be fought, and much wretchedness suffered, before the believers in Mahomet were finally expelled from Spain.

The kings of Castile are said to have borne the golden castle in a red field as their arms only from this day. Those of Navarre placed a chain on their red shield, in sign that at the battle of the Navas of Tolosa they first broke through the chain of guards that surrounded the tent of Mohammed. On this occasion the kings fought as simple knights.

Digitized by Google

The bishops were not less forward, and there were on the field the masters of Santiago and Calatrava, and the Templars, besides the flower of the Spanish nobles; some of whom, such as Diego de Haro and Fernando de Lara, were equal to kings in wealth, power, and alliances.

The inhabitants of Baeza, after the battle, fled in alarm to Ubeda, all but a small number who took refuge in the principal mosque, hoping for mercy, but they were burnt alive. Ubeda was next taken, and the king was inclined to spare the inhabitants, but the bishops forbade: it is father Mariana who tells the story; and the whole of the people, without distinction of age or sex, were murdered! Had the caliph Yacub been gifted with the spirit of prophecy, and could he have foreseen this horrible event, we should not wonder that one of the things he repented of on his death-bed was having set free twenty thousand Spanish captives after the battle of Alarcos.

The princes and leaders returned to Toledo after the capture of Ubeda. There queen Eleanor and her daughters met them, and the court was full of rejoicing; but famine and sickness began to waste the troops, and they retired, loaded, indeed, with booty, and rich with pay and plunder; but long drought had destroyed the year's produce, and they either starved by the way, or died at home of the sickness contracted in the camp. The bishop of Toledo, Rodrigo Ximenes, distinguished himself honourably on this occasion. He distributed his

Digitized by Google

stores liberally, and by his preaching induced others to do the like; he also brought the people to exert themselves to remedy the evil, by raising food of every species wherever water was to be found. On this account the king bestowed on him and his successors the office of high chancellor of Castile.

The king of Navarre gained fourteen towns by this campaign, for Alonzo the Noble restored him that number, which had formerly belonged to his state, and the joint conquest of the two kings in the south were annexed, as was most convenient, to the kingdom of Castile.

After this memorable battle Alonzo turned his attention to procuring peace with Leon; and for that end the two kings appointed a meeting, when they agreed to dismantle two forts which had been subjects of dispute; after which, by permission of the king of Castile, several of his nobles and their followers joined the army of Leon, in a campaign against the Moors, who were now distracted by a civil war. On this occasion Alcantara was taken and given to the knights of Calatrava, a branch of whose order afterwards assumed the name of Alcantara, and at least equalled the fame of their original patrons. The death of don Pedro of Arragon, at this time, in a foreign war, of which I shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter, left an infant of four years old on the throne; and that of Alonzo the Noble, on the fifth of October, 1214, left his kingdom to an heir only

Digitized by Google

ten years of age. Eleanor of England, the wife of Alonzo, survived him but a few days. All the historians who mention this queen praise her wisdom, piety, and beauty. She could not survive her husband. She had brought up her children diligently, and was considered as the mother of the people. On her death her eldest daughter, Berenguela, became regent of the kingdom, and proved herself worthy of her mother.

The children who survived don Alonzo VIII. and Eleanor of England were, 1. donna Berenguela, separated from the king of Leon; 2. donna Costanza, married to Louis of France; 3. donna Urraca, married to Affonso II. of Portugal; 4. Henry, who succeeded his father; 5. donna Eleanor, who afterwards married the king of Arragon.



Cross of Archbishop Roderick.

Digitized by Google

Towards the end of the twelfth century, the light of literature and science began to appear in Christendom after the long night in which it had been wrapt. The minstrels and troubadours had begun to cultivate the vernacular tongues half a century before: these tongues now came to be used in histories and chronicles. Roderic Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, wrote his account of the battle of the Navas of Tolosa, in Castilian prose, which had already assumed a decided form.

But still learning was at a very low ebb in Castile; and don Alonzo, sensible of its deficiency, founded schools at Palencia, which place he had erected into a bishop's see, and procured masters from France and Italy to instruct the youth of his kingdom, for there were none to be found among his Christian subjects. It is remarkable that one of the first students of Palencia was the famous St. Dominic, born in 1170, at Caleruega, in the diocese of Osma. A public school had been founded at Zaragoza, by Alonzo I., surnamed the *Battler*, where the teachers were also from France. The interference of the popes, on every possible occasion, in the affairs of the peninsula, tended to establish an intercourse with Italy, which could not fail of being favourable to Spain as far as regards the progress of letters, however hurtful it may have been in other matters.

Nothing can exceed the superstition of these times. The wisest and best of the kings were

Digitized by Google

obliged to comply with it. Hence half the annals of the period are filled up with accounts of pretended miracles, or narratives of the discovery of relics, and their translation from one shrine to another. Even Eleanor of England, wise and virtuous as she was, had the weakness to build a shrine to Thomas à Becket, whose death was the misfortune of her great father's reign. She hoped, by honouring the dead saint, to expiate, in part, whatever share her father Henry might have had in the crime of Becket's death.

One of the most remarkable men in Spain at this time was the Jew, Benjamin of Tudela, who travelled over the greatest part of the then known world, for the purpose of visiting every synagogue of his people, and observing the manners and customs of various nations. The account he wrote of his travels has been printed and translated into several languages, and is one of the most curious and instructive books we possess, as to the geography of the world at this period. Benjamin died A. D. 1173.

The custom, or we may say the right, of private war between the nobles within the kingdom, and even of waging war with the king himself, which obtained at this period, tended to produce a state of barbarism. It is true that none but gentlemen had the right of private war, and that all disputes between persons of inferior rank were decided in the courts of justice; but the gentlemen were apt to consider the quarrels of their vassals as their own.

Digitized by Google

Even the dignified clergy exercised this dangerous right, and either by themselves or by their champions decided their disputes. We have related the trial between the Romish and the Musarabic liturgies, and have mentioned the knights who accompanied the ambassadors of Castile and Navarre to the English court, for the purpose of deciding the quarrel between their masters, in case Henry II. declined to interfere. All the kindred of the persons engaged in private war were obliged to take part in it; and this obligation extended as far as the degree within which marriage was prohibited at this time, namely, the seventh. The evils consequent on such a system, which was general throughout Europe, may be imagined. In Castile and Arragon it was severely felt. The quarrels of the houses of Lara and Castro involved the whole nation in war, and the private feud of Pedro de Azagra led that powerful nobleman into alliances with the Moors no less disgraceful to himself than dangerous to his country. The great Lope de Haro, who contributed so much to the victory of the Navos de Tolosa, had not long before been a refugee in a Moorish court, and made war against the Christians under the banners of Mahomet. Sensible of the evils of this practice, the king and cortes of Arragon endeavoured, in the year 1165, to abolish the right of private war, and to punish those who presumed to claim that

Digitized by Google

mischievous privilege; but in vain: the practice continued, and its prevalence will account for much of the wretchedness which naturally harassed a country where each baron viewed the dwelling of his neighbour as a hostile fortress.

The soil of Spain, though fertile, requires careful cultivation. When the seasons are dry, dearth ensues, unless the crops are carefully watered by artificial means. The caliphs of the house of Omeia had provided for this by building reservoirs, aqueducts, and canals. But the right of private war which the extension of the Christian dominion had carried with it into the southern provinces, by often subjecting the crops to the destruction of contending neighbours, and laying the means of irrigation open to the same hazards, renewed and increased the evils natural to the country. The repeated famine which raged towards the end of the twelfth century is a proof of the mischievous consequences of the state of society which authorises such feuds; nine months of dry weather which occurred twice during that period might have been repaired by the careful watering of the fields; but the private rather than the public contests had prevented the cultivation of the land, and proper attention to the watercourses; and those who had no means of emigrating died of hunger in one of the most fruitful provinces of Spain, namely, the country round Toledo. But the right of private war induced another evil.

Digitized by Google

The followers and retainers of an unfortunate combatant had seldom any mode of regular subsistence: they betook themselves to the mountains and forests, and levied contributions on their weaker neighbours or on travellers, and, like the Cid and his companions when in banishment, fed themselves at the expense of those who were better provided than they were. Hence the country was full of banditti, both Christian and Moorish; and travelling, unless in armed bodies, was difficult, if not impossible.

The institution of various religious and military orders to protect pilgrims and other travellers was therefore useful and natural. The order of Santiago, the most opulent and honourable of Spain, was instituted in 1170. Its object was to restrain and punish those who disturbed the public peace, and to oppose the Moors: hence its great popularity. The other orders of Calatrava and Alcantara grew out of that of the Templars, and were expressly established to defend certain parts of the frontier against the Mahometans. The private manners had as yet undergone no great change. The wisdom and piety of queen Eleanor doubtless had considerable influence on the higher classes, yet there are tales belonging to this age that prove the morals to have been but lax.

As to the coarseness and grossness of which the middle ages are accused, what better can be ex-

Digitized by Google

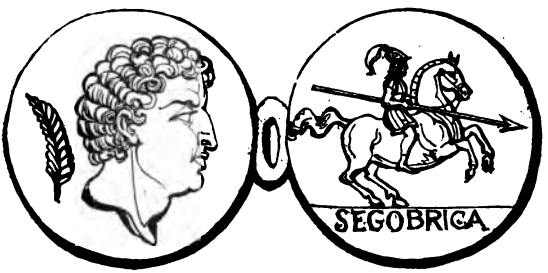
pected in a warlike period, unpolished by art or literature?

When Henry II. of England convened a plenary court at Beaucaire, for the purpose of settling the differences between the king of Arragon, as count of Provence, and the count of Toulouse, the latter gave a hundred thousand pennies, about a thousand pounds sterling of our present money, to Raymond d'Ayout, a baron of Provence, who immediately distributed them among twenty thousand knights. The baron Bertram Raimbaut chose to display his opulence in a strange manner: he had the land around the castle of Beaucaire ploughed, and sowed it with a hundred and twenty thousand farthings. William de Martel, who had three hundred knights in his train, caused their meat to be cooked over wax tapers. The countess of Magel presented a crown of immense value to the assembly; and the amusements and feasts in honour of the meeting were terminated by burning before the whole court thirty valuable horses, the property of Raymond de Rous. Such was the barbarous mode of displaying wealth at this time.

Yet amidst all this, the songs and ballads of Elias de Barjols, and his brethren the minstrels and troubadours, began to be heard; the ingenious feats of the *jongleurs*, who had brought with them from the East the amusing arts of sleight of hand, that of taming and managing wild beasts, as well

Digitized by Google

as those of tumbling and dancing, began to be prized; and though these aspired at no great elegance, they were an improvement upon the fiercer diversions of that martial age.



Two coins: Segobrica and Oxi.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF HENRY I., A. D. 1214, TO THE DEATH OF ST. FERDINAND, 1252.



Elevation of St. Ferdinand.

BEFORE we proceed to the history of donna Berenguela and her brother, it will be necessary to give some account of a religious sect, which, during the latter part of the twelfth century, had spread widely over Germany, England, and France, and now disturbed the north of Spain. This sect has been called by two names, Albigenses and Waldenses,

Digitized by Google

but improperly, because these names really indicate two very different sects. The Albigenses certainly professed doctrines first taught by the ancient Manicheans, and afterwards adopted by Christians calling themselves Paulicians, and mingled with many peculiar ideas concerning Christianity. They chiefly differed from the Roman church, in rejecting the books of the Old Testament, though they received the New. They also disbelieved the miracles said to be wrought by saints and their images, and they would not worship the Virgin Mary. They rejected infant baptism, and denied the great power and authority of the priests. They had other spiritual differences, which it is needless to relate here. The Waldenses were a more simple people, deriving their name from Waldo, a merchant of Lyons. His principal disciples were the shepherds of the Alps and of Piedmont. They appear to have resembled the modern Moravians in their institutions and doctrines; they elected their own clergy, and denied the lawfulness of oaths and of capital punishment. Both these sects increased extremely at this period. Their modesty and virtue, their sincerity, piety, and devotion distinguished them from their fellow-citizens, in an age when the grossest licentiousness abounded; and the uprightness and simplicity of their religious practices formed a strong contrast to the superstitious usages enforced by the church of Rome.

Some of the teachers of these sects had made

Digitized by Google

their way into Leon, and gained proselytes even among the lower clergy. It appears that a number of pretended miracles had lately been wrought in that city, where the bones of a heretic and a murderer were dug up, and passed for those of saints, and performed many pretended cures of the blind and the halt. The secret of these miracles was discovered by the Albigenses, and explained to the people; the priests took the alarm, a popular tumult ensued, and, in consequence of burning the house where the pretended miracles were wrought, great part of the city was consumed. The priests, finding their hypocritical practices detected, immediately declared that the pretended miracles had been wrought by the heretics, and then exposed by them, for the sake of bringing shame upon the true church; and it is certain that the clergy themselves destroyed the house which had been the scene of their scandalous practices.

But these heresies either never spread very widely in Castile and Leon, or were at this time overlooked, for the number of Jewish and Mahometan inhabitants disposed the bishops to consider every Christian with indulgence. Navarre and Arragon, however, from their situation, and from the intimate alliance of their kings with the counts of Toulouse and Provence, in whose dominions the religious disputes became so fearful, were more affected by them. But it was in the country surrounding the town of Albi, called the Albigeois,

Digitized by Google

that this heresy was most deeply rooted. The priests had in vain attempted to extirpate it; and at length they appealed to the pope against a sect which, abhorring their usurpations and covetousness not less than their superstition, threatened not only to bring disgrace upon their religious profession, but to deprive them of the riches which the devotion of their ignorant followers had heaped upon them. Alexander accordingly despatched the cardinal of St. Chrysogonous, with several prelates and a detachment of preachers of the Cistertian order, to Toulouse, in the year 1177. But these ambassadors, most of whom displayed a luxury in equipape, dress, and food, that only confirmed the disgust of the heretics, produced little effect, and they again applied for fresh preachers. Accordingly, in 1203, Ralph and Peter of Castelnau, two Cistertian monks, were sent by Innocent III. to preach to the Albigenses, and to demand the assistance of all princes against them. The counts of Toulouse, of Foix, of Beziers, and of Comminges, refused to exile or persecute the most innocent and industrious of their subjects. The king of Arragon joined his brother-in-law, Raymond of Toulouse, in resisting the arbitrary commands of the pope, who, enraged at their opposition, preached a crusade against the Albigenses. This was an occasion too favourable to be neglected, for all the enemies and rivals of the count of Toulouse to fall upon him. The kings of France joined the cru-

Digitized by Google

sade, and a series of persecutions against the Albigenses and their count began, unequalled in cruelty and atrocity. In 1206, the mission for preaching against the heretics was fixed in Montpellier, and there it was first joined by two Spaniards, Diego Acebes, bishop of Osma, and Dominic Guzman, afterwards the celebrated Saint Dominic, the founder and father of the inquisition.

That bold man first reformed his colleagues, the prelates of the mission; he showed them that their pomp and luxury were not fitted to wean the Albigenses from their heresies. He himself appeared in all the simplicity of an apostle, his arguments were strongly urged, and he called on the secular princes to second his zeal, and punish those who refused to return to the bosom of the church. He found a willing and an able second in Peter of Castelnau, who not only invited the count of Toulouse to join in their pious purpose, but threatened him with excommunication in case of refusal. Raymond's impatience at this insolence encouraged some of his followers to waylay and murder Peter when on one of his missionary expeditions, and this crime, in which he had no participation, was imputed to Raymond*.

In vain, after this event, did Raymond humble

* Peter was canonized, and more than three centuries afterwards his story furnished the subject of one of the noblest pictures in the world, the Peter Martyr of Titian.

Digitized by Google

himself; in vain, like Henry II. of England, did he appear barefoot and all but naked before the priests; he could obtain no remission from the inveterate prelates. Even though he went to Rome and obtained the pope's mandate, the inexorable council refused him absolution; and after his death, his son could never obtain for his bones the rites of christian burial.

The crusade against the Albigenses had now long been carried on. Simon de Montfort, a bold man, whose son is so well known in English history as earl of Leicester, was chosen captain of the crusaders. The cross, in this unnatural war, was worn on the breast, to distinguish those engaged in it from the warriors of the holy land.

The name of Simon de Montfort had been distinguished for bravery and all knightly qualities; but his actions in the crusade against Toulouse sullied it for ever. Nature shudders at the recital of his cruelties. Neither man, woman, nor child was spared, no faith was kept, and the natural consequence was retaliation almost as cruel. Meantime, Arnold, abbot of the Cistercians, together with Dominic, by permission of the pope, formed a society to inquire into the doctrines of the heretics, and agreed that all such as persisted in their errors should be delivered over to Simon de Montfort, who willingly undertook the office of executioner. Dominic then chose some monks of the order of St. Augustine to be his assistants in the office

Digitized by Google

of inquiry, or INQUISITION, into the faith of the people; and soon after, finding these insufficient, he set up an order of laymen under the name of *the third order of penance*, and these, being considered as part of the family of the inquisitors, were called *familiars*. Other associations formed on the same model arose; the popes confirmed them; and from that time the inquisition was established in Italy, in the south of France, and soon reached Spain. Dominic was canonized: he it was who prevailed on the pope to appoint a reader through whose hands all books must pass before they could be permitted to be printed or read by Christians. Dominic himself was the first grand inquisitor; his first regular tribunal was established in Toulouse, 1216. While the spiritual war was thus going on, conducted by Dominic, Simon de Montfort was every where successful. Although Peter II. of Arragon had, in 1211, intrusted his only son Jayme, then a child of three years old, to Simon de Montfort to be brought up as his future son-in-law, yet, on his return from the war against the Saracens in 1212, finding that that ambitious leader, under the cloak of religious zeal, was about to strip the different princes of his family and alliance of their domains, and that, not content with endeavouring by force to drive out the multitudes of common people who professed the new doctrines, he was attempting to found a sovereignty at the expense of their rulers, he joined the count of Toulouse and his allies in

Digitized by Google

opposition to him; and his arms were at first tolerably successful. But in an attack on Muret, where Simon de Montfort and his knights were shut up, and from which they sallied after refusing to surrender at discretion, he was killed together with many of the chief nobility of Arragon. The Spanish historians have taken great pains to clear him from the suspicion of entertaining the opinions of the heretics; but it would not be unnatural to suppose that a highly accomplished prince, such as Peter, who could not but feel in every province, nay in every town of his kingdom, the burdensome exactions of the church of Rome, looked with some favour on the professed enemies and opponents of that church. Don Pedro II. was in the flower of his age at his death. He was brave, handsome, liberal, and remarkable, above all, for his truth. He was a lover of learning of all kinds, encouraged the Provençal poets, and was himself renowned for the elegance of his verses.

No sooner was the death of the king of Arragon known, than two pretenders laid claim to the crown. The first was his brother, the abbot of Montarragon; the second, his uncle don Sancho count of Roussillon. But the states of Arragon would not submit to either; and, at the suggestion of Pero Fernandez de Azagra, lord of Albarracin, they sent to pope Innocent, to entreat him to interpose his authority with Simon de Montfort, and make him restore their king, that they might set

Digitized by Google

him in the place of his father. Yet notwithstanding, Simon, who had now assumed the title of count of Toulouse, kept him nearly a year before he would give him up. But at length Jayme or James returned to Spain, and was acknowledged king at Lerida, 1214, in the sixth year of his age. The little monarch was accompanied by his first cousin, Raymond of Provence, who was to be brought up in Arragon, until the troubles of the south of France should be appeased. For the first time, all the three estates of Arragon took the oath of allegiance to the king, and the custom was thenceforward observed. Don William of Monredon, grand master of the Templars, was appointed guardian to Jayme, the fortress of Monzon was fixed on as his place of residence until he should be of age to govern, and the regency of Arragon was intrusted to the count of Roussillon. But the friends of the young count of Provence, anxious for his presence among them, contrived his escape from the castle of Monzon; and the grand master, dreading lest Jayme should also recover his independence without his intervention, resolved, in concert with some of the grandees, both ecclesiastic and secular, to place him in authority at once, though little more than nine years of age. The rage of the count of Roussillon was unbounded, on learning this step. He had hoped confidently to reign at least during a long minority; but now that hope was cut off,

Digitized by Google

he endeavoured to raise a party against the young king, but without effect. Jayme was every where received with joy, and the Catalans voluntarily paid him an unusual tribute, called bovatico, because it is paid as a tax on cattle. This was of material assistance to the king, who reached Zaragoza in safety, and his uncle consented to his assumption of the regal title and dignity, while he himself directed the government.

Meantime the state of Castile was distracted by civil divisions and private feuds. The arrogant house of Lara would not brook the regency of a woman, nor could the talents, spirit, or riches of Benguela preserve it in her hands. Her brother Henry, whom she loved as a mother, was taken from her; and the state, during the two years of his reign, was one scene of confusion and civil war.

His death, which happened in 1217, was caused by the falling of a tile on his head, while at play with some young companions. The most remarkable event that interested Spain in his reign was the general council, held in St. John's Lateran, by pope Innocent III., in which several acts were passed for the regulation of the Spanish churches, and for confirming the inquisitorial plans of St. Dominic. The celebrated Roderick, archbishop of Toledo, attended the council as head of the Spanish church, and astonished the clergy assembled there by his great learning and accomplishments, one of which was, that he spoke to every

Digitized by Google

one present, whether English or German, French or Italian, Greek or African, in his own tongue.

No sooner was the death of don Henry known to Berenguela, than she resolved to send for her eldest son Ferdinand of Leon, to place him on the throne. But knowing the ambitious nature of his father Alonzo IX, she concealed the death of her brother, and sent don Lope de Haro and Gonzalo Ruiz Giron to request a visit from the young Ferdinand, without any reference to the purpose for which she wished for his presence in Castile, but rather insinuated that it was to countenance her in her opposition to Alvaro Nunez de Lara, the arrogant governor of Henry.

The young prince found his mother at Otello. She immediately renounced the crown in his favour, and then, such was the simplicity of the age, the ceremony of raising him on a shield as an acknowledgment that they owned him for their king was performed under an elm tree, and the banners of Castile were raised in his name.

The young prince and his mother then proceeded through various towns to Palencia, and were every where received with great demonstrations of joy. Ferdinand was then eighteen years of age, handsome and accomplished, very gracious to the people, and of a martial spirit. The miseries to which Castile had been exposed during the two years of the young Henry's reign, and which were occasioned by the disputes between the nobles, prepared

Digitized by Google

all to receive with joy a prince whose age was sufficient to allow him to assume the government at once, and whose character and manners promised so much. The first object was to soothe the various parties, especially the powerful counts of Lara; and this was in great measure accomplished at Palencia by the intervention of the bishops: from thence the king went to Valladolid, where, in a general cortes of the kingdom, Berenguela, as the eldest daughter of Alonzo VIII., was acknowledged as the right heiress to the throne; but she, who loved a peaceful life, resigned the kingdom a second time in favour of her son, and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed anew in an open space near that city. Thence he was conducted to the cathedral, where he swore to observe the customs and privileges of the kingdom, and received the accustomed homage of his vassals.

But when the king of Leon discovered the purpose for which his son had been invited to Castile, his resentment was unbounded, and he invaded the frontier, burned a number of farms and villages, and even threatened an attack on Burgos; but the vigorous measures of the queen and her advisers repelled his forces, and he was soon induced to make peace. The family of Lara was not so easily brought to submission: however, in the course of the year, seven considerable towns and castles were recovered from don Alvaro de Lara; and his brother don Fernando consented to do homage for Orejon

Digitized by Google

and Castrozenix, which he had in his keeping. Yet that ambitious family disturbed the peace again, and quitting Castile took refuge in Leon, where they easily persuaded the king to attack some of his son's frontier towns. The war however lasted but a few weeks, when peace was concluded; and fortunately for both kingdoms, don Alvar Nunez de Lara dying about the same time in Spain, and don Fernando in Africa, where he lived at an agreeable place near Marocco, the country began to enjoy a tranquillity to which it had long been a stranger.

The next year ambassadors were sent to the emperor Frederic II. to negotiate a marriage between his cousin donna Beatriz, daughter of the emperor Philip of Suabia, and king Ferdinand. This alliance was happy, and as there could be no pretence for annulling it by the church on account of consanguinity, the king and queen had the happiness of bringing up their children under their own eyes.

Berenguela went to the frontiers of Biscay to receive her daughter-in-law, and conducted her to Burgos, where the nuptials were solemnized. Maurice, bishop of that city, performed the marriage ceremony with the usual solemnities, and the day before the nuptials the king armed himself a knight, there being no one more noble there to do it for him.

The same year the young don Jayme, king of Arragon, was solemnly contracted to donna Leonor,

Digitized by Google

the youngest sister of Berenguela. But in this marriage the church interfered some years afterwards, and separated Jayme and Leonor, after the birth of their son Alonzo, on account of consanguinity. Perhaps no king so young ever took upon him so much authority or made himself so much respected as Jayme or James of Arragon. From his infancy he had been accustomed to scenes of strife and difficulty. Three years he had passed with Simon of Montfort, and two in a kind of honourable captivity in the castle of Monzon under the grand master Monredon. While there, he had felt the pains of confinement, and more like a man than a child of eight years old, resolved to establish a society for the deliverance of captives whenever he should have the power. Not many years afterwards he fulfilled his vow, and formed the religious and military order of La Merced, whose business it was to redeem captives, chiefly Christians who were prisoners to the Moors, and who for that pious purpose were authorised to receive contributions from the charitable of all classes. Peter Nolasco, a Frenchman, was the first master of the order. Its insignia were the arms of Arragon, worn on the white habit, with a cross on a red field above.

This boy king at eleven years old had, as we have seen, asked the hand of the princess Leonor in marriage, to cut off the hopes his uncles might have formed of succeeding to his crown by securing the powerful support of Castile. He then turned

Digitized by Google

his arms against some of his rebellious subjects, and in person took the field against Lope Albero, a grandee who had presumed to set at nought the authority of a child: but that child was a sovereign, and soon proved that he knew how to govern both in peace and war.

Having quieted his own subjects, he next punished Moncado lord of Bearn, for an inroad he had made on the lands of Roussillon, and deprived him and his allies of one hundred and thirty castles and forts, and thus added to the strength of the crown by annexing to it the strong places of those turbulent chiefs whose rebellious acts had continually disturbed the peace of the community.

It is true some fresh attempts were made to disturb the peace of the state, but Jayme prudently turned the attention of the nobles to an expedition against the Moors, and began that series of successful attacks on their territory, which gained him the title of the conqueror.

Ferdinand of Castile likewise renewed the war against the infidels, although his own kingdom was seriously disturbed by the persecution of those who professed the doctrines of the Albigenses. His title of *Saint* was hardly earned, if indeed, as his chroniclers boast, he was so earnest in his hatred of the heretics, that he not only witnessed their sufferings, but threw the logs of fuel on the flames in which they were consumed, with his own hands. It is an awfully instructive lesson on human

Digitized by Google

weakness, when we see a character, otherwise wise and great, so degraded to brutality by superstition; and not less so when, governed by the same pernicious influence, we find learned and polished men, professors of charity, praising and sanctifying the atrocities committed in the name of religious zeal.

Nothing could be more wretched than the state of Moorish Spain. After the fatal battle of the Navas of Tolosa or Alacâb, the African caliph, far from attributing merit to the Christians, or blame to his own conduct or that of the Africans, accused the Spanish Moors as the cause of the loss of that day, and accordingly on reaching Seville beheaded a great number of the Andalusian chiefs, and deprived others of their offices or their fortunes. He then retired to Marocco, where he shut himself up in his palace and wasted the rest of his days in sensual pleasures, and thus ended the dominion of the Almohades in Spain; for although one of his successors, Almamun, a wise and accomplished prince, attempted to regain it, yet he had no sooner returned into Africa, after his first successful battle against the rebel Sheik Yahye ben Anesir, than new disturbances arose; the kingdom was dismembered, and that part which was not comprehended within the new state of Grenada was broken into such small divisions that each in its turn became the prey of Castile or Arragon.

The first independent kingdom set up on the

Digitized by Google

ruins of that of the Almohades was Seville. Abu Abdalla Mohamed ben Yusuf, aben Hud, descended from the Moorish kings of Zaragoza, who were dispossessed by Alonzo of the battles, king of Arragon, thinking the occasion favourable to retrieve the affairs of the Andalusian Mahometans, assembled a band of brave men, and in a meeting at Escuriante, a place strong by nature, in the territory of Axixar, he addressed them on the subject of their grievances under the Almohades. He dwelt on the vexatious taxes of the invaders, their want of learning, their contempt for religion; and entreated his countrymen to join with him in freeing their native land from such evils.

His eloquence produced the effect he desired: the chiefs swore to obey him as their king and leader; the Imams, under pretence that the Almohades had defiled the mosques by preaching the doctrines of their false prophet, purified them anew in the name of Aben Hud. The new king and his nobles put on mourning, in sign of grief for the public sufferings, and every art was used to rouse the Mussulmans against both the African invaders, and the Christians who had lately made a truce with the caliph Almamun. That prince shortly returned from Africa, and tried his fortune in one more battle, but he was defeated after a combat of two days, in which the loss on both sides was very great. Almamun lost his best and bravest knights, among whom were some of his own family; yet he re-

Digitized by Google

treated in good order from the field, retired unpursued to the coast, and crossed over to Marocco, whence he did not return. Aben Hud followed up his success by seizing on Murcia, in which enterprise he was aided by some companies of christian knights, who, rather than remain at peace, joined indifferently, for the sake of glory or plunder, with any prince who might be at war with his neighbour. Indeed the people of Murcia were sufficiently willing to obey a king of their own faith, rather than the lieutenants of the heretical and persecuting sect of the Almohades. Merida and Seville were the next places that submitted, and for a time he flattered himself with the hopes of having founded a new and permanent sovereignty in Andalusia.

Meanwhile the sheik Geomail ben Zeyan displaced the Almohad governor of Valencia, and took the title of king of that province, which he however kept but eight years, when the city was taken by don Jayme, who shortly afterwards obliged upwards of fifty thousand Moors to emigrate from it, some of whom passed over into Africa, but most took refuge in the new kingdom of Grenada, where they were welcomed as an accession of strength against the common enemy.

The Balearic Islands had long been rather the receptacle of the Moorish pirates of the Mediterranean than the seat of a regular government, when the king of Arragon, incensed at the interruption of his trade and the repeated attacks of his towns on the

Digitized by Google

coast of Catalonia by their ships, fitted out a fleet at Barcelona to attack them; and this enterprise was so popular in Arragon, that the people again offered their king the bovatico, a contribution that it was unusual to pay a second time in one reign, to assist him in providing men and ships. The expedition was successful, and Jayme bestowed the islands in feof on don Pedro, infant of Portugal, in exchange for his claims to part of the sovereignty of Nigel, in right of his wife, one of the two daughters of Emengard VIII., the last count of that province; but the Moors recovered possession of the islands in three years, and on making the conquest anew, thirty years afterwards, the king of Arragon bestowed them on his son don Jayme, who took the title of king, coined money, and transmitted his crown to his children. The year after these successes of don Jayme, an event the most important to Spain took place; namely, the death of Alonzo IX. king of Leon, and the consequent final reunion of the crowns of Leon and Castile. Alonzo died at Villanueva de Sarria on his return from a successful expedition against the Moors, in which he had taken Badajoz, Merida, and some smaller towns. He had reigned forty-two years, and left his kingdom in a better state than he found it, notwithstanding the troubles that had been caused by the propagation of the heresy of the Albigenses. He founded the university of Salamanca, being fond of learning, and sensible of its importance in

Digitized by Google

the state. His dislike of his children by his second marriage with donna Berenguela of Castile was displayed in his will, by which he left his dominions to his two daughters, donna Dulce and donna Sancha, the children of Theresa of Portugal. This will was however set aside, the princesses being content to waive their claims to the crown on condition of receiving a sum of money. Their mother, who had retired to a convent in Portugal, left it on this occasion, and, for the peace of the kingdom, held a conference with donna Berenguela, who, in behalf of her son, agreed upon the settlement proper to be made on his sisters: thus the prudence of these excellent women saved the two kingdoms from war, and procured all the benefit of their united strength for the common good of christian Spain.

Soon afterwards, Sancho VII. king of Navarre, who had long been shut out from society on account of the cancer in his foot, died in the 80th year of his age and 40th of his reign. He was succeeded by Theobald the posthumous, count of Champagne, the son of donna Blanche, Sancho's sister. But the king of Arragon opposed his title, alleging a treaty which had been made some years before between Sancho and himself, when they agreed that whichever survived should succeed to the crown of the other. The opposition produced no other effect than that of uniting the nobles of Navarre more firmly to Theobald; but his reign was of little avail to

Digitized by Google

Navarre, excepting indeed that he joined with the king of France, Saint Louis, and his peers, in endeavouring to put a stop to the usurpations of the clergy over the secular power. But as the command of one of the crusades had been voted to him, he preferred the adventure and romance of an expedition into Syria to the tranquillity of his own little kingdom. He was however so unfortunate in the holy land, that he speedily returned without doing any thing of consequence, and having lost great part of his army, and many of the boldest of its leaders being either killed or prisoners.

Don Ferdinand having by this time settled the affairs of his new kingdom, now turned his attention seriously to the expulsion of the Mahometans; but he had nearly incurred a war with Arragon by attacking part of Valencia, which was within the conquest, as it was called, of that crown. However, after some altercation between Ferdinand and James on the subject, Ferdinand withdrew from Valencia, and attacked Jaen, where he was defeated; but shortly recovering, he sent a body of troops to Cordova, having first taken Ubeda, which, since the great battle of the Navas of Tolosa, had been twice won and lost by the Moors.

A large tower in the suburbs of Cordova was taken by surprise during the night; at dawn the alarm was spread through the city, and every effort was made to drive out the Christians, but in vain. Intelligence of this disaster was im-

Digitized by Google

mediately despatched to Aben Hud at Seville. He set out to relieve the city, but hearing midway that Ferdinand himself had arrived with a powerful army to reinforce the besiegers, and that the Christians were already in possession of the whole of the suburbs, he held a council of war; when, as usual, the most timid advice was adopted; and the Moorish king retired, instead of advancing at once to fight the Christians. Aben Hud, not liking to abandon Cordova thus to its fate, still remained a day in his position, and sent one don Suar, a renegade Christian, who was in his army, to reconnoitre Ferdinand's host. But Suar's love for the Christians overcame his gratitude to Aben Hud, and he returned with a false account of their numbers; so that the king of Seville finally marched back without doing any thing for the ancient Moorish capital.

The inhabitants of Cordova made a gallant defence. When the walls were entered, they fought from street to street, and from house to house, always in hopes of relief. But when they heard that Aben Hud had abandoned them, they capitulated. The conditions were hard; nothing but life, and the liberty to retire whither they would, were granted: they accordingly took refuge in such places of Andalusia as still belonged to their nation, but their riches and lands were divided among the conquerors.

The cross was placed on the great minaret along

Digitized by Google

with the banner of Castile, the magnificent mosque of the Omeyads was consecrated to Christian worship, and the great bells of Santiago de Compostella, which Almanzor had set up for lamps in the court of the mosque, were borne back to their original place on the shoulders of captive Moors.

As soon as the reduction of Cordova was known, Baeza, Estapa, Ezija, and Almodovar, submitted to Ferdinand, who willingly received them into his protection, on condition of their paying tribute.

Nothing could exceed the joy of the Christians, or the dismay of the Moors, on this event. The capture of Cordova, so long the capital of the Mahometans, adorned with the spoils of the Goths, and rich with their losses, afforded a legitimate cause of triumph to the conquerors; while rage, shame, and grief, accompanied the exiles, who saw their palaces occupied by those on whose former ruin they had been raised, their places of worship converted to the use of a strange and hated religion, their schools and colleges filled with a barbarous soldiery, and their libraries consigned to the hands of bigoted ignorance.

Ferdinand, aware that the Moors of Cordova could never willingly submit to his government, banished them; and as the city remained nearly a desert, he sought colonists from every part of Spain, and most probably from the south of France, to whom he granted extraordinary privileges, and divided among them the houses and estates of the

Digitized by Google

exiles. By existing diplomas, it appears that, on this occasion, he added to his titles that of king of Cordova: so important did he consider his new conquest.

The death of Aben Hud shortly followed. He was at Almeria, which had again fallen into the hands of the Moors, preparing to embark to assist those of Murcia and Valencia against don Jayme, when he was found one morning dead in his bed. His physicians declared that he had died of apoplexy. His enemies spread a report that he had expired during a drunken fit, but his friends insinuated that he had been smothered. He was a man of rare qualities and endowments, but hardly equal to cope with the turbulent times in which he lived: his death increased the distresses of the Moors, who had not that confidence in his brother and successor, Abid Dowlah, which they had justly reposed in him; and Abid Dowlah was murdered before the end of the same year. In short, nothing saved even the remnant of the Moorish empire in Spain but the talents and fortune of Muhammed ben Nazir Aben Alahmar, lord of Arjona and Jaen, who had made himself king of Grenada, and whose wisdom and prudence had gained the confidence of his unhappy countrymen.

Meanwhile the king of Arragon was every where successful in his operations against the towns and castles subject to Valencia. He had with him an auxiliary force of chosen men at arms from France, under the conduct of the bishop of Narbonne, and these were joined by many English, who came to

Digitized by Google

make their crusade against the Moors in Spain, under the renowned don Jayme. The better to carry his designs on that city into execution, he had espoused the cause of its exiled king, and under pretence of doing justice to Seid, he gained over several of the Moors themselves to his party: but on getting possession of the capital, it soon appeared that nothing was less in his thoughts than maintaining a Moorish king there. This first step was to banish the greater number of the Moorish inhabitants, lest they should endeavour to recover the city. They were allowed to carry with them their families, their goods, and their treasures. Jayme himself was present during the five days which it took the multitude to cross the bridge on their way to Grenada, he suffered no indignity to be offered by his soldiers to the exiles, nor a robbery of any kind to be committed. Slowly and wearily they passed along from the pleasant Valencia, which their songs long described as the terrestrial paradise, full of the delights of earth and air, and watered by the purest of rivers, the beautiful Guadalaviar.

But don Jayme, called by pressing occurrences into the south of France, now granted a truce to the Moors, and that wretched people might have had a breathing time, but for their own internal disputes.

Both the Christian kings had nearly exhausted their means in the past war, and Jayme at Montpelier, and Ferdinand at Burgos, whither he had

Digitized by Google

gone after the taking of Cordova, endeavoured to raise money and troops to carry on the crusade, as it might be truly called. The south of Spain suffered from famine, the natural consequence of the war, and the new settlers of Cordova were in such extreme distress, that whatever could be spared from the royal treasury of Burgos was sent to them to purchase food at any price.

The next event of consequence in the Moresco war was the reduction of Murcia, which consented to pay tribute to the infant don Alonzo. The convention was signed by the governors of Murcia, Alicant, Elche, Orihuela, Alhama, Alido, Aceca, and Chinchila. Arjona was taken by force, several smaller towns shared the same fate, and the lands round Carthagena were wasted, though the troops of Alonzo could make no impression on the place.

Meantime Grenada, by the care of Mohammed Alahmar, had become a regular state. The frontier towns were well provided with victuals and strongly garrisoned, the ports were guarded with ships, and alliances entered into with the princes of Tunis and other kingdoms of Africa, so as to secure the resources of commerce. The capital was embellished, and the scholars and men of letters of Andalusia were willing to behold a new Cordova rising within the walls of Grenada, or rather of the Alhambra, that magnificent fortified palace, which to this day attests the grandeur of the second

Digitized by Google

Moorish empire in Spain. The name had been given to that portion of the city a few years before, when the inhabitants of a small fortress, named Alhambra, being driven out by the Christians, took refuge in Grenada, and had that part of the city assigned to them as a residence.

Ferdinand, meantime, had collected a sufficient force to attack Jaen, where he had been repulsed with great loss a few years before, and now having sat down before it, he made a vow not to leave it until it surrendered. In vain did the violent rains and storms to which that mountainous district is subject threaten destruction to the host; the king continued the siege till Alahmar, who had been disappointed of a convoy of provisions, took the extraordinary resolution of going alone into Ferdinand's camp to propose terms of surrender and peace. The Christian king resolved not to be behind the Moor in generosity: he embraced Alahmar, entreated his friendship, and solemnly swore alliance with him. But Alahmar was constrained to consent to pay tribute, to engage to assist Castile with troops when called upon, and to deliver up Jaen as a pledge for the performance of the treaty.

Alahmar's first occupation on his return to Grenada was to repair and strengthen the old fortifications and to construct new; to review his troops, and provide them with stores of armour, for which purpose he had established manufactures like those of Toledo and Cordova, and to furnish his frontiers

Digitized by Google

with new magazines of every kind; for he plainly perceived that the Christians were in no disposition to neglect an occasion of taking possession of any weak place, notwithstanding their treaties.

He had scarcely passed eight months in these occupations, when he received letters from Castile informing him that Ferdinand was about to invade the territory of Seville, and requiring him as an ally to furnish a certain number of troops for the occasion. Now although Alahmar was at enmity with Seville, he could not but be sensible that every blow struck on the side of the Christians must sooner or later fall with interest on his own kingdom; yet bound by treaty, and weak from situation and circumstances, he was obliged to comply, and accordingly joined them with five hundred chosen horse. Alcala de Guadaira was soon taken, and that, as the first fruits of the alliance, was given by Ferdinand to Alahmar. Carmona, Costantino, and Lora were soon admitted to terms; but Cantillana having resisted too obstinately, was treated with extraordinary cruelty. On this Alahmar expostulated with the king of Castile, who from that time moderated the excesses of the soldiers, and in every instance first tried to persuade the forts and castles to yield on such terms as might save their honour, before he suffered them to be attacked by force.

While the territory of Seville was thus invaded, Ferdinand was preparing a powerful naval armament in the ports of Biscay, under the superin-

Digitized by Google

tendence of Ramon Boniface, citizen and merchant of Burgos, a man of much experience in such matters. And while waiting for the arrival of the fleet, in order to begin the siege of the capital, some differences which had arisen between the infant don Alonzo and the king of Arragon, on account of the limits of their conquests, were adjusted at Cordova, where Ferdinand was at that time. The chief condition of the accommodation was the marriage of the infant with Violante, the eldest and favourite daughter of don Jayme by Violante his second wife. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp at Valladolid, in November of the same year, though Ferdinand could not be present, on account of the war against Seville, where Ramon Boniface had now arrived with thirteen large vessels.

An obstinate naval fight took place soon after Ramon reached the mouth of the Guadalquiver. He was attacked not only by the vessels belonging to Seville, but by the galleys and ships of Ceuta and Tangier, which had come in aid of the Sevillians. The Biscayners had the advantage in the lightness of their ships, and the dexterity of their pilots; the Africans, in the fighting men accustomed to use their weapons by sea; but the former gained the victory. Three of the Moorish ships were taken, two sunk, and one burnt; the rest were glad to take refuge in their own ports.

The fertility of the country, the riches of the

Digitized by Google

town, the convenience of the port, were all so many incentives to Ferdinand to prosecute the siege with vigour; yet it lasted eighteen months. Both the Christian and Moorish historians dwell with delight on the feats of arms performed before Seville; don Pelayo Correa, grand master of the order of Santiago, and Garci Perez de Vargas, are mostly named among the Spaniards; and of the Moslem none was a better knight than Alahmar, king of Grenada. Day after day challenges to single combat, between the walls and the camp of the besiegers, were given and accepted. The warlike engines and towers, brought against the battlements by the Christians, were burnt or overturned by the besieged, who sallied out whenever an opportunity occurred. They, on the other hand, had their machines which discharged a hundred javelins or charges of stones at once on the besiegers. At length the king of Grenada, and the admiral Boniface, proposed to burn the ships and break the bridge over the Guadalquiver. This bridge was of wood, supported on boats strongly chained together with iron links, and afforded great facility for the Sevillians to communicate by the suburbs, with the country, and to gather provisions. For this end, burning pots full of grease, pitch, and other combustible materials, were thrown into the vessels, and two ships were prepared, sufficient by their weight to break through the bridge of boats; the first opportunity of favour-

Digitized by Google

able wind and tide was taken, the bridge gave way, and the Sevillians being straitened for provisions, surrendered shortly afterwards. The conditions were easy: all that chose to quit Seville were at liberty to do so, but those who preferred remaining were assured of the free exercise of their religion, and the enjoyment of their property, subject only to the moderate tax they were accustomed to pay to their own kings. Those who chose to depart within one month were to be provided by the king of Castile with beasts of burden to remove their effects by land, or with ships if they chose to go to Africa, and the governor was invited to live in any part of Spain he pleased, and promised a handsome provision; but on the day on which he delivered up the keys of the city, he embarked for Africa.

Ferdinand took up his residence in the palace of Seville, and the other christian chiefs in the towns and villages in the neighbourhood, till the month allowed for the removal of such Moors as chose to go should have expired. Many of them accepted the protection offered by Alahmar, and went to Grenada; a few of the Sevillians accompanied the Almohades to Ceuta, and thus ended the Moorish dominion in Seville. The towers were crowned with crosses, the mosques filled with images, and the tombs of the oracles of the law were overturned. King Aben Alahmar took leave of Ferdinand, unwilling to witness the

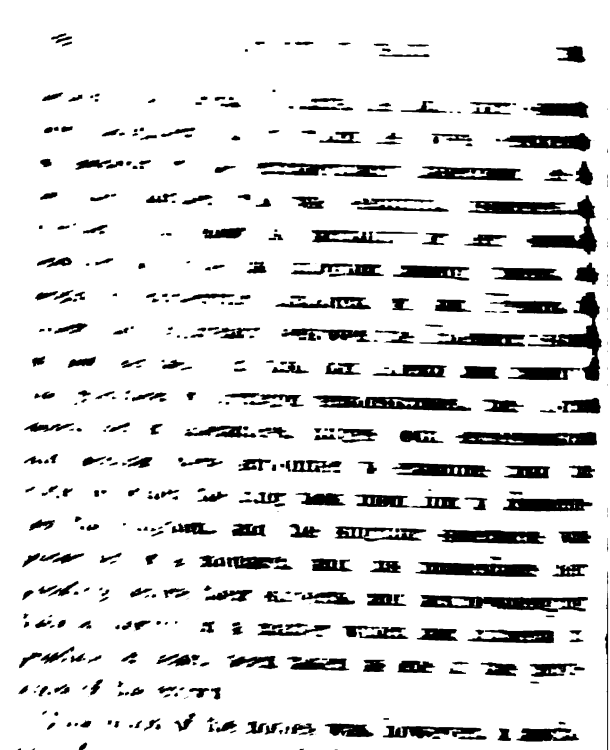
Digitized by Google

spoiling of the people, and grieving for the sad necessity which compelled him to assist their enemy, yet never for a moment thinking of breaking his faith.

On reaching Grenada, he sought to console himself by endeavouring to improve his people, and guard his country. He particularly encouraged agriculture and gardening. He gave rewards and granted privileges to the best farmers and breeders of cattle, the most skilful armourers, weavers, and handicraftsmen; he encouraged the growth and manufacture of silk, so that the stuffs of Grenada soon rivalled those of Syria. He protected the miners, and paid great attention to the workers in metal of all kinds. He made several excellent regulations for education in the capital, and among other great works, such as schools and mosques, he began the beautiful buildings of the Alhambra. In short, whatever could be done to retrieve the state of his nation, he did with prudence and sagacity; and perhaps the most useful though the most painful duty he performed was that of maintaining, at any price, peace for Grenada with his Christian neighbours.

While the affairs of Castile and Grenada were proceeding thus, those of Arragon were in a singular state of disturbance. The first marriage of don Jayme with Eleanor of Castile had been dissolved by the interference of the church, after the birth of one son, the infant don Alonzo. By his

Digitized by Google



Digitized by Google

of little avail. In the whole country the discontented with Jayme's conduct in the matter, and prince and nobles were in communication with the king until Alonso's death, which happened some time before that of his father.

Meanwhile Ferdinand, after spending a little while from the affairs of the state at Seville, had removed to Murcia, and from thence to Xeres, Medina Sidonia, and some smaller places, and was preparing to pass over into Africa, when he died at Seville, in May 1252, having reigned nearly thirty-five years in Castile and twenty-two in Leon. This king was wise, brave, and fortunate. His person was handsome, his manners agreeable, and his morals pure. If we except his inveterate persecution of heretics, he was just and humane, pious even to superstition, and an encourager of learning and learned men. Sensible of the inconveniences to which the various codes of law, observed in different parts of the kingdom, exposed the people, and desirous of amending the defective administration of justice, he reformed the courts, and is said to have instituted the *Royal* council, which was the supreme tribunal of justice in Castile, and consisted of twelve judges, to whom the inferior magistrates were amenable, and to whom the people might at all times appeal. Ferdinand also began the great collection of laws, called the Partidas, which was finished in the reign of his son and successor, Alonzo the Wise.

Digitized by Google

second wife, donna Violante, he had four sons and four daughters, all of whom he loved extremely on account of the extraordinary affection he had for their mother, who was beautiful, discreet, and spirited. To show his partiality for her sons, he resolved to divide his kingdom among them, and began by conferring Catalonia on don Pedro, the eldest, having already bestowed the Balearic islands on don Jayme. At this, don Alonzo and many of the grandees of Arragon remonstrated, the Cortes assembled at Ascanices, judges both ecclesiastical and secular were appointed to examine into the right by which the king took upon him to dismember the kingdom, and the singular spectacle was presented of a monarch and his immediate heir pleading before their subjects, and acknowledging their authority, in a matter which had hitherto in practice, at least, been taken as one of the privileges of the crown.

This union of the nobles was, however, a lawful one; for we have remarked that the constitution permitted their union, in case the king's conduct required restraint or admonition. Their power was moderated by the justiza, appointed from among the second class by the king, and they were convened by the heir apparent, who, in Arragon, had peculiar privileges assigned him. In order to avoid a civil war, the Cortes pronounced on this occasion simply, that it was the duty of a son to submit to his father's will: but the decision

Digitized by Google

was of little avail, for the whole country was dissatisfied with Jayme's conduct in the matter, and the prince and nobles were at variance with the king until Alonzo's death, which happened sometime before that of his father.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand of Castile, after reposing a little while from the fatigues of the siege of Seville, had renewed the Moorish war. He had taken Xeres, Medina Sidonia, and some smaller places, and was preparing to pass over into Africa, when he died at Seville, in May 1252, having reigned nearly thirty-five years in Castile, and twenty-two in Leon. This king was wise, brave, and fortunate. His person was handsome, his manners agreeable, and his morals pure. If we except his inveterate persecution of heretics, he was just and humane, pious even to superstition, and an encourager of learning and learned men. Sensible of the inconveniences to which the various codes of law, observed in different parts of the kingdom, exposed the people, and desirous of amending the defective administration of justice, he reformed the courts, and is said to have instituted the *Royal council*, which was the supreme tribunal of justice in Castile, and consisted of twelve judges, to whom the inferior magistrates were amenable, and to whom the people might at all times appeal. Ferdinand also began the great collection of laws, called the Partidas, which was finished in the reign of his son and successor, Alonzo the Wise.

Digitized by Google

By his first wife, Beatriz of Suabia, he had seven sons, Alonzo, Fadrique, Fernando, Henrique, Philip, Sancho, and Manuel. And by his second, Juanna of Bethune, a daughter named Eleanor, married to Edward I. king of England. Ferdinand was canonized by pope Clement X. A. D. 1671.



Small coin.

The beginning of the thirteenth century is remarkable in Spain as well as in the rest of Europe for a complete change in the state of science. The religious questions stirred at that time naturally led men to study and research: one branch of knowledge conducted to another, and there was a general advance in every department of learning. The accomplished Roderick, archbishop of Toledo, whom I have already mentioned, studied, it is true, at Paris; but Saint Dominic was brought up wholly at the school of Valencia founded so recently. Bernard, the commentator on the decretals, was a canon of Santiago: and the reputation of the Spanish doctors of the church induced Saint Francis of Assissi and Saint Anthony of Padua

Digitized by Google

to visit the country; the latter was indeed a native of Lisbon, but had gone early to Italy. But these were men of enterprise, who took part in the great events of their time. There were not wanting others who were more humbly, perhaps more efficaciously improving their countrymen, by cultivating domestic literature and turning their attention to their own state. Among these, Gonzalo Berceo, about A. D. 1220, wrote in Castilian verse the lives of several Spanish saints, and a poem on the battle of Simancas. His life of Saint Dominic has been printed, and in it he says, that not being learned enough to write Latin, he uses the common language spoken by the people. To this period we must look for the first coplas, and redondillas, or roundelays, which are different from the short poems imitated from the lays of the Troubadours; but there is great uncertainty as to the precise period of their first appearance. I am inclined to place it very early. There is scarcely any nation, however rude, which has not its songs commemorative of wars or expressive of passions; and the Castilians, always engaged in a war of romantic interest, could surely not be without their ballads of love and war. Indeed, we know they were not; and I doubt not but the same songs, possibly altered by the changing nature of an uncultivated language, were sung in honour of the successive victories of the Christians over the

Digitized by Google

Moors, from the days of don Pelayo downwards. Now, however, the language began to be fixed. Rodrigo archbishop of Toledo, and Lucas bishop of Tuy, under the patronage of queen Berenguela, wrote histories both in Latin and Castilian. The collection of laws translated into the Castilian tongue by Ferdinand served much to improve it, while they show that it had already acquired a regular form.

With regard to education, the university of Salamanca was founded by Alonzo IX. of Leon, and further endowed by his son don Ferdinand, who removed part of the schools of Palencia thither. Most of the younger branches of the noble families studied there for a time, and then went to Paris or Rome, or sometimes Toulouse, to finish their education and acquire some knowledge of foreign states. Roderick of Toledo brought up the king's sons, at the request of their grandmother Berenguela, in his own palace, and at a proper age sent them to Paris, where don Philip distinguished himself as a pupil of the philosopher and theologian Albertus Magnus. Nor were the Arragonese behind the Castilians. Their near neighbourhood to and connexion with Toulouse, whose university had long been established, and the learning and taste of their two last kings, had encouraged the cultivation of letters among the nobles, and the Moors could now no longer revile their Christian foes as illiterate barbarians, or reproach them with that want

Digitized by Google

of personal cleanliness, which disgusted them in the ninth century. The chivalrous customs of the time precluded the idea of a knight being otherwise than delicate in his habits in time of peace. The Cid Ruy Diaz's shirt was white as snow. No doubt the importance that women had acquired tended to soften and refine the manners of every class of people; and they repaid the devotion which the men professed for them by the wisdom and courage which they displayed, whenever called on to act, either for their country or their husbands. I need not name again the qualities of donna Teresa and donna Berenguela, the admirable wives of Alonzo IX. of Leon. But one anecdote of a lady of the house of Castro deserves to be related. She had been left in the castle of Martos by her husband, while he attended the king at Toledo. During his absence, Alonzo de Menezes, captain of the garrison, sallied out at the head of his troops, to make an inroad into some part of the Moorish territory; but before he could return, the Moors of Arjona had surrounded the place, and confidently hoped to win it, as its garrison was absent. But the wife of Alvaro de Castro armed her women and servants, took the command herself, directed the warlike engines against the enemy, and made the place good, until Menezes returned, and forced his way through the besiegers into the castle, whence the men of Arjona, who were not prepared for a long siege, soon retired.

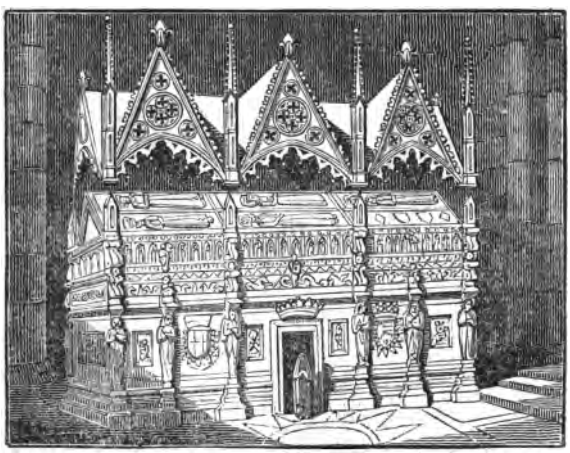
Digitized by Google

Unhappily the lady did not see her husband more: he died on his return to her, at Orgaz, between Toledo and Martos, to the regret of all Castile, for there was not a better knight, a wiser counsellor, nor a more hardy warrior.

There is another anecdote illustrative of the manners of the times, which I cannot omit. When Sancho II. king of Portugal was dismissed from his kingdom, and his crown given to his brother don Affonso, Flectio, governor of Coimbra, refused to yield the city to the new king, on the ground that his faith had been given to don Sancho, and could not be violated. Sancho had taken refuge in Toledo, where he lived on a pension allowed him by the king of Castile, and where he died after three years of exile. At the time of his death, Affonso was besieging Coimbra, which Flectio still held out for his brother; but having heard rumours of the king his master's death, he asked safe conduct from Affonso to go to Toledo, and ascertain the fact. On arriving there and finding Sancho really dead, he went to his tomb, and causing it to be opened, he placed in his hand the keys of the city of Coimbra, saying, "Whilst thou wert living, oh king! I suffered every hardship, I fed on hides and offal, I drank stale water, I incited the citizens who would have surrendered to persevere in resistance. All thou couldst expect from a loyal and true man who had sworn fidelity to thee, I have done. Now thou

Digitized by Google

art dead, I give thee the keys of thy city, the last office I can do for thee; and then, with thy leave, I will advise the citizens, that I have performed due homage, and that since thou art dead, they no longer may resist thy brother don Affonso."



Tombs of the kings of Arragon.

Digitized by Google

CHAPTER XII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ALONZO X., SURNAMED THE WISE, OR THE LEARNED, A. D. 1252, TO THE DEATH OF FERDINAND IV., A. D. 1312.



Men, woman, and child, from an ancient print of the road to Grenada.

THE surname of WISE, which has been always bestowed on this prince, was earned by his learning rather than by his conduct in the government of his kingdom, which was involved in civil wars and commotions, from which a more prudent or a more resolute monarch might have preserved it.

Digitized by Google

He was proclaimed at Seville, where his father died, in May, 1252. The first condolence on the death of Ferdinand which was offered to his son came from Muhammed Alahmar, king of Grenada, whose regard for that monarch was shown by a yearly deputation of Moorish knights to his tomb bearing waxen tapers to burn on the anniversary of his death. Alahmar was also the first foreign prince to renew his alliance with Castile, and some successful expeditions against Xeres and other towns were made in concert with him; the success, however, was but temporary, as they soon returned to the dominion of their Moorish lords.

One of the first acts of Alonzo's reign was so dishonourable, that it conveys no favourable opinion of his principles in any case. Being discontented with his queen Violante, or Yolanda of Arragon, because she had no children, he sent ambassadors into Denmark to request the king of that country would send him one of his daughters as a bride, concealing from him that he was not yet divorced from his first wife. The princess Christina accordingly set out from her father's court, and crossing Germany and France, arrived nearly worn out with fatigue at Valladolid. But by this time the queen had a daughter, the king was reconciled to her, and Christina, mortified and disappointed in her hopes of an honourable marriage and the state of a queen, died in a few months afterwards, although

Digitized by Google

don Philip, the king's brother, had offered her his hand.

It is said that the ill usage of Christina was the cause which led prince Edward, son of king Henry III. of England, to Spain; he being her cousin, and feeling bound as a knight to take up the cause of an injured lady. But however that might be, Alonzo found means to soothe him, and Edward received at his hands the honour of knighthood; the fame of Alonzo as a warrior being such, that to receive that distinction at his hands might alone, in these days, have been a sufficient inducement for the young prince to perform a journey from England. But his visit to Castile procured him the hand of Eleanor, the sister of Alonzo, a princess whose beauty, courage, and virtue distinguished her above all the ladies of her time. To her affection Edward owed his life in the Holy Land; for when he was stabbed with a poisoned dagger by one of the emissaries of that implacable enemy of the Christians, the Old Man of the Mountain, whose name with little change has given us the word assassin, she sucked the poison from the wound and saved her husband's life.

The intercourse of Spain with the rest of Europe had now become regular and frequent. The ships of the crusaders from France, England, Germany, and even more distant nations, occasionally touched at her ports. Intermarriages with foreign

Digitized by Google

nations had produced friendly alliances, and the restless martial spirit of the times led many a knight to join the banners of the Christian princes of Spain against the Moors; a warfare quite as holy as that in the holy land, much more useful, and which, by the indulgence of the popes, gained for the soldiers engaged in it every spiritual privilege conferred by the more distant crusades. These knights were struck by the power and riches of the courts of Castile and Arragon. The characters of Jayme the Conqueror and of Saint Ferdinand had heightened the favourable impression; and the great reputation enjoyed by Alonzo X. for courage, wisdom, and learning, disposed all men to look upon him as one of the first princes of the age. This reputation recommended him to the electors of Germany as a fit prince to call to the head of the empire, in hopes that a king of his power would be able to calm or subdue the disturbances which had distressed their country from the death of Frederic II., and which the short reign of Conrad IV., the last of the house of Suabia, had only augmented. An almost equal number of electors had fixed on Richard, duke of Cornwall, as emperor; and it was evident, that whichever of the princes should arrive first in Germany would succeed at the expense of the other.

It was imprudent in Alonzo to accept a foreign throne while his own country was surrounded with enemies, and contained in its very core a race of

Digitized by Google

people of a different origin, faith, language, and manners, always on the watch for a favourable opportunity to attack his frontiers and to seduce his vassals. But having accepted the offer of the electors, he ought at once to have repaired to their diet, and confirmed the election by his solemn inauguration. This, however, he was unable to do. In the midst of his preparations for his journey to Frankfort, he was stopped by a commotion which broke out in Castile, in consequence of some unpopular measures which he had adopted in the very beginning of his reign; and his competitor, Richard of Cornwall, reached Aix-la-Chapelle with his family almost before Alonzo's acceptance of the crown could be known, and was crowned there by the archbishop of Cologne. His reign, however, was short. He was recalled to England by private affairs, and being soon involved in the civil wars of that country, returned no more to Germany, and the empire was left without a head.

Alonzo indeed assumed the title of emperor, but the affairs of the empire demanded a real not a nominal monarch; and, after many disputes, Rodolph of Hapsburgh, a prudent and moderate prince, was elected in 1272, who, by his discretion and firmness, leaving the foreign possessions of the house of Suabia to their new masters, reduced the affairs of the empire to such order as that his successor was enabled to recover nearly all the ancient influence of the empire in Italy.

Digitized by Google

In vain did Alonzo protest against this new election; his pretensions only served to involve him in perpetual disputes with the secular princes of the empire, and with the popes as its spiritual sovereigns and feodal superiors, for such was the insolent claim they had set up.

The discontents in Castile which troubled the beginning of the reign were in great measure owing to the expedients resorted to by Alonzo to raise money. The royal coffers had been nearly exhausted by the long wars with the Moors, and the excessive contributions demanded by the church, which claimed at this time not only a tenth of the actual produce of the land, but a tenth of what it might produce: and this, in a country so thinly peopled as the Christian part of Spain, was a most grievous burden. From the time of the invasion of the Almoravides and the fall of the Omeyads, the war between the Moors and Christians had become truly destructive. The Christians had been removed from the Moorish frontiers, even into Africa on one hand, and on the other, in order to secure their conquests, the Christian kings exiled the Moors from the towns and lands which fell into their hands; hence a frightful depopulation, which the governments in vain endeavoured to fill up by colonies from the south of France, and adventurers of every nation.

The church felt the defect of tithes, and regardless of the proverbial maxim, that "where there is

Digitized by Google

nothing the king loses his rights," the church resolved not to lose hers, and accordingly made the oppressive claim I have mentioned.

The king's revenues suffered of course. And the extent of his territories did not by any means bring a proportionate income: for whatever conquest was made by the great barons, or Ricoshombres, was claimed by themselves, and the king received from their lands nothing but empty homage. Alonzo, therefore, in order to raise money, altered and adulterated the coin; he moreover struck a quantity of base money called black money, whereby all classes suffered: and in those turbulent times, any pretence sufficed the nobles as an excuse to take up arms. Don Henrique, the king's brother, Lope de Haro, lord of Biscay, and several others, formed a confederacy against him; and, at the same moment, Theobald II., king of Navarre, attacked the northern provinces of the kingdom. No sooner had Alonzo marched to repulse Theobald than don Henrique assembled a force in the south, and encouraged both the Moors and Christians to throw off their allegiance; but Juan de Lara, governor of Seville, at the head of a body of the king's troops, marched to Nebriza, where the infant, don Henrique, then was. A very short trial of strength convinced the prince that he had little chance of success against that experienced leader, and he fled to Jayme, king of Arragon, for protection. But Jayme was not disposed at that time to risk a

Digitized by Google

quarrel with Castile, and although he received the infant with courtesy, he soon made him sensible that he could not afford him a permanent asylum. Henrique, therefore, went over to Africa, and took refuge in the court of the king of Tunis, where he remained four years.

Alonzo, meanwhile, with the assistance of Alahmar, was resolved on reducing the rebellious Almohad Moors to obedience; and before the end of the campaign he had reduced, partly by force and partly by negotiation, nearly the whole of Algarve. The condition on which ten cities were surrendered by the governor was, that he should enjoy the estate called the King's Garden, at Seville, and the tenth of the oil of the olive-yard attached to it, which secured to him a considerable revenue; and thus at the price of an olive-yard was the rich and populous province of Algarve lost for ever to the Moors.

But the king of Grenada, who had hitherto remained strictly faithful to the treaty he had entered into with Saint Ferdinand, saw with fear one Mahomedan state sink after another before the progressive power of Castile. "He reflected," says his historian, "that it would be difficult much longer to persevere in his friendship with the Christians, his natural enemies, who would seek but slight occasion to attack him; for neither do wormwood nor colocynth lose their bitterness, nor can you expect to gather grapes from briers." He therefore inspected

Digitized by Google

all the towns of his frontier, increased their fortifications, and, in every point, prepared for the possibility of war. He paid particular attention to the state of Cadiz, Malaga, Algeziras, and Tarifa, and caused the walls of Gibraltar to be strengthened and carefully repaired.

Alahmar's neighbours were now so secure of his growing disgust to the Christians, that they openly prepared for resistance to Alonzo, and even professed themselves the subjects of Grenada, and used the name of Muhammad Aben Alahmar as their war-cry. The king of Castile justly considered these proceedings as an infraction of the treaty between Castile and Grenada; war ensued, and the first battle of Alcala de Aben Zaide was entirely favourable to the Moors. The Zenete horsemen, by their dexterity, strength, and swiftness, decided the fortune of the day. But the distinctions bestowed on them consequently by Alahmar awakened the envy of the three Beni Ascaliolas, who were governors of Malaga, Cadiz, and Comares, and they resolved to break with Alahmar and set up independent states for themselves. They therefore, on some frivolous pretences, excused themselves from joining the troops destined for the assistance of the Moors of Murcia; and for the present, Alahmar was obliged to dissemble his resentment at their disobedience. Aware, however, that the spirit of disaffection was already among his nobles, and that in case of his death it was but too probable that a

Digitized by Google

civil war for the succession would take place, which might open a way for the Christians to drive the remnant of the Mahometans out of Spain, he caused the oath of allegiance to his son to be solemnly taken at Grenada, and his name to be joined with his own in the khotba in every mosque.

The three Ascaliolas were the only sheiks not present on this solemn occasion; they had indeed written to Alonzo to acknowledge his superiority, and to offer their services against the king of Grenada. Their assistance was most welcome to the king of Castile, as their inroads into Grenada allowed him leisure to pursue his designs on Murcia, and to settle the affairs of some of the Moorish towns in Andalusia which had shown a strong disposition to throw off his yoke. The inhabitants of Xeres he banished, without even allowing them to carry away the necessaries of life; nor did he show more mercy to those of Medina Sidonia, Rota, Solucar, Nebriza, or Arcos. Most of these wretched people took refuge in the lands of Grenada; so that though Alahmar lost some territory he gained subjects, and subjects too of a class not likely ever to favour a Christian enemy. He divided his army into various bodies directed to the different points of his frontier, and he himself was surrounded by a sort of flying camp composed of the best horsemen of Grenada, with which he moved rapidly from place to place.

But a dispute now arose between the Christians.

Digitized by Google

The kings of Arragon and Castile each claimed Murcia as their own conquest, and were on the point of making war for its possession, or rather the claim to it, whichever should hereafter conquer it. But Alonzo, to prevent this untimely division, proposed that his brother Manuel should be king of Murcia, and that he should receive the hand of a younger daughter of Jayme, the sister of Alonzo's queen Yolande. Now the Moorish historian alleges, that the young princess was much handsomer than her sister, and therefore the object of her jealousy; for which reason, in order to prevent her from being raised to equal rank with herself, she sent privately to Alahmar, with whom she had contracted a great friendship during his visits to the Castilian court, informing him of the negotiations concerning Murcia, and requesting him to find means to make peace with Castile on such conditions as should prevent the projected marriage; promising, at the same time, to use her influence to place the three rebel sheiks once more in his power. Alahmar, without a moment's delay, complied with the queen's request, and opened a negotiation with Alonzo, who met him at Alcala de Aben Zaide. It was there agreed that Alahmar and his son should renounce their pretensions to Murcia, and that Alonzo should no longer assist or protect the Ascaliolas: that Murcia should be subject to Castile, but governed by a Mohamedan prince according to the law of the Koran; that no

Digitized by Google

new taxes should be levied on the Murcians, but that one-third of the old imposts should belong to the king. It was also stipulated that all rebels on both sides should be freely pardoned, that Aben Alahmar should by all means dispose the Murcians to accept this treaty, and that, instead of the quota of horsemen that had formerly been furnished by Granada to Castile in time of war, a fixed sum in money should be yearly paid.

Alonzo and Alahmar then set out together for Murcia, where they had no great difficulty in persuading the sheiks to accept the conditions of the treaty of Alcala; and this they did the more easily, as the choice made by Alonzo of a prince to govern them was particularly agreeable to all ranks of people. Muhamad Abu Abdila Aben Hud, the brother of the famous king of Seville, Aben Hud, was highly esteemed both by Christians and Moors for his moderation and prudence; he was, besides, a just and virtuous man. Thus Alonzo satisfied his own ambition in having princes for his vassals; queen Yolande was gratified by the success of her schemes; and Alahmar, in favour with all parties, returned to Grenada accompanied by a number of noble Moors, who quitted the places even nominally subject to the Christians, to dwell where the pure faith of the Koran flourished under the wisest of kings, Alahmar.

While Alonzo of Castile was thus engaged in his wars or negotiations with the Moors, and pre-

Digitized by Google

vented from asserting his claim to the crown of Germany, the king of Arragon had entered into an alliance with the remaining heir of the house of Suabia, the consequences of which extended through centuries, and gave to the crown of Arragon kingdoms and provinces in the fairest parts of Italy.

The disputes which had long existed between the popes and the emperors, or, in other words, between the civil and ecclesiastical heads of the western empire, had been carried to their highest pitch during the reign of the emperor Frederic II. As the kingdoms of Europe began to feel and assert their independence, the temporal power and authority of the emperors had been gradually disallowed, and their real dominion seldom extended beyond their family possessions.

The empire of the popes, which consisted chiefly in that of opinion, had, on the other hand, continually increased. The clergy were so many emissaries faithful to their chief, who spread over every nation, and excited in every individual, a religious awe of their spiritual ruler. Hence the most powerful temporal monarchs trembled at an interdict, and the bands of society were completely cast loose when the popes chose to absolve subjects from their allegiance to their sovereigns. As the successors of St. Peter, they presumed to interpret literally the words of his divine master, and to assume the power of binding and loosing not only things on earth but things in heaven; and the hatred of Gregory IX.

Digitized by Google

and Innocent IV. to Frederic of Suabia was chiefly owing to the disposition he had shown to toleration of the new religious sects who dared to question the rights and infallibility of the bishops of Rome, for no higher title would they allow to the occupants of the holy see. The most audacious act of usurpation of the church of Rome was the excommunication of Frederic at the council of Lyons, held A. D. 1245, and the subsequent declaration, that he had forfeited his crown and the allegiance of his people. One hundred and forty prelates appeared at this council, and they might admire the boldness of the pontiff who thus dared to see how far he might practise on the credulity of mankind; but there can be little doubt but that all the temporal princes present must have secretly trembled for their states, and have departed with sentiments much less unfavourable to the heretical doctrines, that were by this time silently making their way in every country in Europe.

The death of Frederic in 1250 did not remove the rancour of Innocent against his house. Conrad IV. was persecuted with even more inveteracy than his father had been. He had to contend, not only for the imperial crown, but for every part of his patrimony. The kingdoms of Naples and Sicily had devolved to the house of Suabia by the marriage of Henry, the son of Frederic Barbarossa, with Constance, the heiress of the Norman kings, who, from their conquest of those states, had held

Digitized by Google

them as feofs of the holy see. The pope now attempted to resume these feofs, and Conrad had to defend them by force of arms. His premature death in 1254, leaving only an infant son, seemed to expose them an unresisting prey to the pontiff; but Manfred, the illegitimate brother of Conrad, a brave and politic prince, took on him the government, which he at first administered in the name of his infant nephew, Corradin. The pope, indignant at what he called the usurpation of a feof of Rome, called Charles of Anjou, the brother of Saint Louis, king of France, to his assistance; and, solemnly investing him with the sovereignty of the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, granted all the privileges of crusaders to such as should assist him in conquering those kingdoms.

To strengthen himself against this formidable rival, Manfred sent to Arragon to offer his only daughter, Constance, in marriage to don Pedro, the eldest surviving son of Jayme, with a dowry of a hundred thousand ducats, and the hopes of succeeding to the crowns of Naples and Sicily, as Manfred had no sons. Before Jayme consented to the alliance, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation between the pope and Manfred; and though his failure in that attempt kept him some time in suspense as to the prudence of the measure, the marriage was celebrated in 1262 at Montpellier, with great splendour: shortly after the ceremony, he divided his kingdom between his two sons.

Digitized by Google

Catalonia, Valencia, and Arragon, were to form the inheritance of Pedro; while Jayme was to have the Islands, Rousillon, and some other foreign states.

But the success which every where attended the arms of Charles of Anjou in Italy, seemed to cut off all hopes of the succession to Sicily and Naples from Pedro. Manfred was killed in battle, and Charles took possession of the crown. But Manfred's nephew Corradin, now seventeen years old, attempted to regain the inheritance of his fathers. He was, however, soon taken, and, to the scandal of Christendom, was publicly executed at Naples as a traitor to Charles of Anjou, the manifest usurper of Corradin's inheritance. While on the scaffold the young prince, whose beauty, youth, and misfortunes, seemed at that moment to touch the people, so as to threaten Charles's dominion, boldly proclaimed his right to the crowns for which he had contested, and throwing his glove among the crowd, desired that some brave man would carry it to his cousin Peter of Arragon, who now, in right of his wife Constance, was his lawful heir. Truchses of Walberg, a German knight, took up the glove spotted with the blood of its owner, and carried it to Peter; and it was not long before he had occasion to assert the claims conveyed with it.

Meantime the discontents in Castile continued to disturb Alonzo's reign. He had not the art of

Digitized by Google

conciliating men's minds; and, with many great qualities, he was neither beloved nor respected in his family, nor popular among his subjects. Even the Laras, who had served him so effectually in his former difficulties, were now disgusted. Don Nuno Gonzales de Lara in particular, a man of talents, riches, and great connexions, openly expressed his discontent, and the kingdom seemed threatened with civil war. Alonzo fearing this event, resolved to strengthen himself by foreign connexions, and therefore sent an embassy to France to demand donna Blanca, the daughter of saint Louis, in marriage for the infant don Ferdinand. While he was at Victoria awaiting the answer to this embassy, he received a visit from prince Edward of England, and from the empress Martha, wife of Baldwin emperor of Constantinople, who had been driven from his throne by Michael Paleologus. She had come to the west to raise money to redeem her husband, who, she said, had fallen into the hands of the Saracens. She hoped to procure one third of the required ransom from the pope, one third from the king of France, and the rest from Alonzo. The latter, however, without allowing her to apply to the others, gave her the whole sum,—an ill timed liberality in the impoverished state of the treasury, and highly resented as such by the grandees of the kingdom. Baldwin afterwards returned to Namur, his original family inheritance, and lived the remainder of his life as earl of Flanders.

Digitized by Google

Alonzo's policy led him by every art to conciliate the king of Arragon, whose son, don Sancho, had lately been made archbishop of Toledo. The first day the new prelate sung mass in his cathedral, his father, who had performed a journey from Zaragoza on purpose, together with the king and queen of Castile and the infant don Fernando, were present: and no sooner was the ceremony over, than don Jayme took leave of his relations, being resolved, old as he was, to perform a crusade in the holy land. His devotion had been roused by an emissary from the great khan of Tartary, who with his subjects had recently been converted to Christianity by the preaching of two of the new order of Dominicans. The khan's new born zeal rendered him indignant at the coldness of the Christian kings of Europe, who did not at once rise in arms and drive the infidels from the holy places, consecrated by the mysteries of their faith. He therefore sent to call his Christian brethren to that enterprise, promising to assist them with his Tartars whenever they should be ready for him. Jayme therefore resolved to yield to this invitation, and accordingly embarked at Barcelona, whence he sailed with thirty ships and several galleys, on board of which there were soldiers and warlike stores sufficient, as it was hoped, to produce a considerable effect in Palestine. But the season was unfavourable; the king's ship, and several others, were driven into the bay of Marseilles, where Jayme suffered himself to be pre-

Digitized by Google

vailed on to abandon his enterprise; but his son Fernan Sanchez reached Acre, and joined the armies of the cross.

The king of Arragon returned after this unsuccessful voyage to Spain, in time to be present at the nuptials of Blanche of France with the infant don Fernando. The feast was held at Burgos, and there were present besides the kings of Castile and Arragon, Edward of England, Philip the heir of France, the king of Grenada, Guillin marquis of Montferrat, the brothers and uncles of the king of Castile, and many noble barons of France and Italy. After the mariage, Jayme returned to Zaragoza, and soon found reason to rejoice that his voyage to Syria had been cut short. It was that disastrous year when saint Louis king of France, Theobald king of Navarre, and so many of the best chivalry of France died, rather of pestilence than by the swords of the Saracens. Alonzo the Wise was at this time intent upon claiming the imperial crown, in virtue of the nomination of the electors sixteen years before: but the time was gone by; and his constant assumption of a title he could not support only drew on him the distrust of foreign princes, and the discontent of the Castilians. His pride and severity disgusted the grandees; and, with his brother don Felipe at their head, they resolved to seek some foreign assistance against him. After applying in vain to Navarre, they wrote to invite the king of Marocco, and finally went in a body to the

Digitized by Google

court of Grenada, where they were honourably received and handsomely lodged, each Grenadian vying with the other in showing them honour. In this peril don Alonzo and his queen went to Valencia to consult don Jayme on the best measures to pursue to reclaim the rebels, but their conference ended in nothing; and as the princes in Grenada did not seem inclined to prosecute their opposition to the king any farther, the kingdom for once enjoyed an interval of quiet.

The first use made of this peace by Alonzo was to prosecute his pretensions to the empire, and on this ground he sought and obtained a personal interview at Belcayre with the pope, whom he could by no means induce to acknowledge his title to the imperial throne, but who granted him a third part of all the tithes in Spain, in order to defray the expenses of the wars with the Moors. Yet on Alonzo's return he persisted in assuming the title of king of the Romans, until, by the pope's command, the archbishop of Seville pronounced the public censures of the church upon him, and forced him to desist after two more years of altercation on this unprofitable subject.

While this was going on, Muhammad Aben Alahmar died, whom even his enemies describe as a man of wisdom, courage, and conduct. His death appears to have been occasioned by a violent emotion of anger. He had received intelligence

Digitized by Google

that the Ascaliolas had, in spite of treaties and promises, once more broken in upon his territories, on which he fell into a transport of rage which his friends found it impossible to calm. He instantly called for his horse, and, followed rather than accompanied by the Castilian princes and the sheiks, rode furiously towards the frontier. About the middle of the day he was taken ill, and his attendants coming up placed him in a chair, and carried him back towards the city: he could not bear the motion, and a tent was pitched for him in the field, where he died at sunset, in the arms of the infant don Philip.

When his death was known in the city, every one wept as if he had lost his own father. He was buried with great pomp in his own burial-place; his body was embalmed in a coffin of silver enclosed in marble, and a long epitaph engraved on it detailing his virtues and qualities, with more truth than most monumental inscriptions can boast.

He was succeeded by his son Muhammad II., who endeavoured in all things to follow his father's steps. He was magnificent, prudent, and brave, and his countenance and figure were very beautiful. He was an expert horseman, and the people delighted to see him at the head of the knights of Grenada. He made no changes in the ministers or servants of his father, either in the departments of peace or war. The courtiers, who

Digitized by Google

had looked forward to a new reign as a period of revenge against the ministers they disliked or feared, and of enjoyment to themselves, were disappointed, and formed a party with which they went over to the rebellious chiefs. As soon, however, as Muhammad had set in order the regular administration of his affairs, he marched against them, and by the aid of the Christian knights who accompanied him gained a complete victory over them.

On Muhammad's return to Grenada, he rewarded the Castilian princes with fine horses, rich accoutrements, and splendid armour; and while the rejoicing for their success still lasted they were joined by don Henrique, who had left the court of Tunis on suspicion that the king had formed a design to murder him. This idea arose from his finding himself suddenly left alone in a court of the palace, where he had been waiting for the king's coming to join in a hunting party, and just as he was seeking his way out, two large lions were let into the court. Henrique faced them with his drawn sword, and the animals crouched before him so that he got safely out, and went to the keepers of the beasts to tell them to keep the cages better closed in future. But though he appeared to think nothing of it, and to accept the king's excuses for the accident, he considered it prudent to leave Tunis, and now came to join his noble friends at the court of Grenada.

Digitized by Google

Henrique brought news from Africa that caused great alarm in the palace of his brother, the king of Castile, namely, that the powerful tribe of the Beni Merines, would pass shortly over into Spain to assist the king of Grenada against the Christians. Alonzo was no sooner apprised of this than he wrote privately to his brothers and the other Castilian knights in Grenada, to entreat them for the sake of Christendom to bring about a truce between him and Muhammad, and prevent the coming in of the men of Barbary. This request they willingly complied with; nor did they find it difficult to persuade Muhammad to a peace with Alonzo, whom he agreed to visit at Seville, for the purpose of negotiating. He accordingly went thither, accompanied by the king's brothers, don Henrique and don Philip, besides the other Castilian knights. Alonzo came out of the city to meet them with great pomp, and lodged Muhammad in his own palace. Great rejoicings and feasting took place. Muhammad interceded with Alonzo for the princes and nobles, who had been so long in his court, and made their peace; after which the king of Castile knighted Muhammad after the Christian manner. The court of Seville was delighted with the elegance of the young Moorish prince, the beauty of his person, the refinement of his manners, and above all the purity and grace with which he spoke the Castilian tongue. Queen Yolande called him her knight,

Digitized by Google

and he passed much time with her and her damsels. He had however occasion to regret her favour, for one day in her playfulness she begged a boon of him, and he as a knight replied he could not refuse. She then desired a year's truce for his rebellious subjects the Ascaliolas: and he, though indignant at the artifice by which this concession, which he had before strenuously refused, was obtained, kept his word, but was more upon his guard with the ladies of the court from that time.

Yolande's stratagem, though it succeeded at the moment, was the means of accelerating the great evil which the convention of Seville was intended to prevent, namely the coming in of the Beni Merines; for on Muhammad's return to Grenada, exasperated at the persevering protection afforded by Castile to his rebellious emirs, he wrote to the king, Abu Jusef, entreating his assistance, and offering him the ports of Algeziras and Tarifa, to land his troops, to shelter his fleets, and lay up his stores. Abu Jusef instantly complied with his request, and arrived in Spain with seventeen thousand men, which were soon followed by nearly as many more.

The first effect of this invasion was to force the Ascaliola sheiks to submit to Muhammad, who received their submission graciously. Abu Jusef then invaded the lands of Seville, while Muhammad attacked the country round Cordova. All Christian Spain was in commotion; the whole

Digitized by Google

population capable of bearing arms was called upon; every noble brought what followers he could into the field. Don Nunio Gonzalez de Lara, who commanded the troops at Egiza, hastily marched to meet Abu Jusef. But he was overpowered by numbers, and after an obstinate battle, in which eight thousand Christians were killed, don Nunio himself was slain. Abu Jusef cut off his head and sent it to Muhammad, who, on receiving it, turned away his face and said, "Alas! my friend, thou didst not deserve this from me." He then caused the head to be embalmed and placed in a costly silver urn, and sent it to Cordova, that it might be honourably buried with the body.

Shortly after this battle, the troops of Abu Jusef gained a second advantage over the Christians of Calatrava and Toledo, hastily collected by don Sancho, the archbishop, who was taken, and had nearly been the cause of a combat between the different tribes of Moslem, on the field of victory. Each party wished to send the valuable prisoner to their chief: the Africans tauntingly exclaimed that he was theirs of right, for that, without them, the horses of Grenada would never have seen the waters of the Guadalquiver; and the Grenadians, justly offended, were about to revenge the insult, when Aben Nazar of the royal house of Grenada spurring his horse, rode up to the unfortunate prelate, and drove his lance through his heart, saying, "God forbid that for

Digitized by Google

this dog of an unbeliever such brave knights should perish."—One party then took his head, the other his right hand, and retired apparently satisfied: but the seeds of disunion between the Africans and Grenadians were already sown, and soon produced their fruit.

Alonzo, however, had now collected a sufficient force to oppose the united Moors, and marched at its head towards Seville, whose territory had been robbed and laid waste by Abu Jusef. This prince, satisfied with his plunder, had retired to Algeziras, where he found the provisions for his troops beginning to fail, and the passage back to Africa cut off by the numerous fleet that had been despatched from the ports of Biscay. He therefore thought it better to come to terms with Alonzo, and without consulting the king of Grenada, or in the slightest degree considering his interest, he made a treaty, in which the rebel Ascaliolas once more disowned the authority of Muhammad, and professed themselves vassals of the king of Castile. After this event, a longer cessation of active war than usual took place, though border skirmishes between the Moors and Christians occurred almost daily.

In this interval died Henry king of Navarre, who had succeeded his brother, Theobald II. Henry left an only daughter Juanna, of the age of three years; when, as usual on any opening in the succession, both Castile and Arragon claimed a

Digitized by Google

right to the crown. But her mother Juanna, daughter of the count of Artois, preferring her French connexions, the young queen was contracted to Philip, the son of Philip king of France, who was afterwards known as Philip the Fair, and thus Navarre became united to France.

About the same period a council was held at Lyons by pope Gregory X.; and thither, notwithstanding his great age, Jayme king of Arragon repaired in order to settle some of the ecclesiastical affairs of his kingdom, but he returned speedily in disgust at the arrogance of the pope, who refused to acknowledge him as king of Arragon, unless he would pay tribute to the holy see. But Jayme replied, that it would be an unworthy deed in him to pay tribute for the kingdom conquered from the Infidels by him, and by his ancestors.

The death of the aged monarch soon followed: he was in the seventy-fourth year of his age, and had won thirty victories over the Moors, which had gained him the surname of Conqueror. He was a good and brave king; an upright, almost a severe judge, yet not one act of cruelty stained his reign; he was pious, yet firm in resisting the encroachments of the church, and fond of letters which he encouraged by founding schools in various parts of his dominions. He was so sensible of the importance of a navy to his kingdom, that he spared no pains to induce experienced seamen to settle in his states, and the patronage he bestowed on the

Digitized by Google

famous Lauria, was amply repaid in the services he performed to Jayme's successor. Jayme is reproached with having loved his second wife too passionately, and with having become equally fond of his mistresses after her death. He left several children by each, who were the progenitors of many of the noble families of Arragon. The infant don Pedro, who at the time of his father's death was engaged in war with the Moors, would not take on him the title of king until he returned victorious some months afterwards, when he was crowned with his queen at Zaragoza, and at the same time the grandees of his kingdom took an oath of fidelity to his son Alonzo, as heir of the kingdom. Don Jayme, his younger brother, received the islands with the title of king of Mallorca and the county of Roussillon, a division of the monarchy that afterwards caused great dissensions in the kingdom.

Castile still continued in a state of ferment. The successes of Jusef, after the death of Nunio de Lara and the archbishop of Toledo, had seemed to threaten the whole of Andalusia if not of Castile. And the infant don Ferdinand had died of fever, as he was upon the point of marching to oppose Jusef, leaving by his wife, Blanche of France, two very young children, known by the name of the infants of La Cerda. Don Sancho, Ferdinand's next brother, immediately took the command of the

Digitized by Google

army: he made every disposition that prudence and bravery could suggest for the safety of the country, and succeeded in inspiring the people with courage, and in driving the Moors beyond the frontiers. From this time he was looked upon as the saviour of Castile, the great body of the nobles and ricos-hombres considered him as their future monarch; and the rules of hereditary succession were not yet so fixed as to ensure the crown to a grandson, while a son one degree nearer the parent-stock survived, especially in case of the infancy or imbecility of the grandchild. Sancho, therefore, and his party might claim a right, or at least the ancient custom of the Goths, for the request they made, that in order to strengthen the kingdom Alonzo would declare Sancho heir to the throne. His mother Yolanda, jealous for the heirs of her eldest son, fled with them and their mother Blanche to the court of Arragon, where they soon discovered that they were only honorable prisoners. Alonzo endeavoured to reclaim them, but Pedro, at the request of his sister Yolanda, refused to give them up. A scene of discord and cruelty followed that it is disgusting to dwell upon. Alonzo seized his brother don Fadrique, and soon after beheaded him as an abettor of the queen's contumacy; Simon Ruiz de Haro, a nobleman of the first rank, was burnt alive for the same fault: and what enraged the people the

Digitized by Google

more, neither of the unfortunate gentlemen was allowed to defend himself against his accusers. The discontents in the court and in the different cities could now only be appeased, or rather diverted, by an attack upon the Moors; accordingly Alonzo laid siege to Algeziras, but was shamefully repulsed; his fleet was taken by that of Marocco, and Jusef caused a new city to be built on the spot where the Christian camp had stood, to perpetuate his triumph.

The capricious and variable temper of Alonzo X. now began to turn against don Sancho, whom he had before supported; this was attributed partly to the influence of the queen, who had returned from Arragon, where she had left her grandchildren in the fortress of Xativa under her brother's care. Blanche, who had hoped that Pedro would have openly espoused their cause, now complained to her brother, the king of France, and entreated him by force of arms to do right to her children. But as it did not suit him to enter into a war at that time, his whole exertion for them consisted in a fruitless negotiation, first with Castile and afterwards with Arragon. These two kingdoms entered into a league, offensive and defensive, with each other; a league the more necessary, on account of the near approach of the powerful kings of France to their frontier by the possession of Navarre. Besides, the two kingdoms were equally harassed by the inroads of certain barons, who, renouncing their allegiance, exercised the right of private war in both, and the

Digitized by Google

number and weight of these had been greatly increased since the deaths of the prince don Fadrique and Ruiz de Haro, who had left many willing to avenge them.

But now Alonzo's discontent at the great popularity of his son Sancho surpassed all bounds. He sent as ambassador into France, Fredulo, bishop of Oviedo, a Frenchman by birth, to treat with Philip about getting his grandchildren out of Arragon, and promised to leave the crown to them, and should they die without heirs, to Philip and to his heirs, without regard to Sancho or any of his other sons. The Castilians were more indignant than ever at this disposition of their crown in favour of a stranger. Alonzo assembled a cortes at Toledo. Don Sancho convoked a meeting at Valladolid; the latter was numerously attended, while Alonzo was nearly abandoned. The cortes considered him as dethroned, and Sancho was elected king, though he did not take the title; a civil war was the natural consequence, which only ended at the death of Alonzo at Seville in 1284.

It is difficult to describe the character of this prince; his wisdom and policy, which were great, were often frustrated by his suspicious nature. His love of justice, which was shown in his finishing the collection of laws begun in his father's reign, and establishing them in the country, was too often forgotten, and his own laws infringed by him in the heat of passion. His passionate and capricious

Digitized by Google

temper rendered him the terror of his own family, and finally led to his ruin.

Yet he was brave and active in the field, and his renown as a true knight was spread throughout the civilized world. To receive knighthood at his hand was an honour even to Edward the First of England; many of whose early years were spent with Alonzo of Castile, and who seems to have profited by his connexion with so accomplished a prince.

The German confederation offered Alonzo the imperial crown; distant nations appealed to him as the umpire of their disputes; the soldan of Egypt sent him a solemn embassy, on account of the fame of his learning and his skill in war; and he appears to have wanted nothing but self-control to have been a perfect prince.

His love of letters would have distinguished him in any situation; but as a king, fully occupied as his reign was, it was most admirable. The Castilian language owes much to him. Assisted by some learned Jews, he caused the Scriptures to be translated into the vernacular tongue. He ordered all public acts and registers to be kept in Spanish, and himself wrote many works both in prose and verse. His Chronicles of Spain are the most celebrated and the most valuable of these. The body of laws called De las Siete Partidas, published by him, was begun, as we have seen, in the reign of Saint Ferdinand, but perfected by Alonzo. It is a

Digitized by Google

collection of the various laws, written or customary, which prevailed before their time, and has borrowed largely from the Roman law, though its chief ordinances are of Gothic origin.

Of Alonzo's poetical compositions, the most touching is his complaint of the ingratitude of his sons, after Sancho had dethroned him.

Sancho, surnamed the Bold, was at Avila when his father died. He had just recovered from a dangerous illness, but hastened immediately to Toledo, where he was crowned; and the grandees of the kingdom swore allegiance also to his daughter Isabel, then a child of two years old, so that the partisans of the infants of La Cerda, Sancho's nephews, had little hope of placing either of them on the throne. His first care was to conciliate the king of Arragon, in whose hands the La Cerdas were placed, and who therefore had the power, at any time, to disturb the peace of Castile, by setting them at liberty. But he committed a great error in treating the ambassadors of the king of Marocco, who had sent to congratulate him on his accession, with such arrogance, as to exasperate Jusef, who in revenge passed the straits once more with an army powerful enough to alarm the whole of the south of Spain, and this army was accompanied and protected by a powerful fleet. Sancho immediately applied to the Genoese for assistance in this difficulty, and induced one of their captains, Benito Zacharias, to engage in his

Digitized by Google

service with twelve galleys. Sancho appointed him his admiral for a fixed period, and bestowed on him the hereditary lordship of the port of Santa Maria, on condition of maintaining an armed galley for ever for the king's use.

He next strengthened the frontiers by such dispositions of the army as were necessary for present defence, and then called a meeting of the cortes in Seville, to deliberate on the best means of remedying the disorders that the last turbulent part of Alonzo's reign had caused. The deliberations were scarcely ended, and a few useful regulations adopted; when Sancho was called into the north of Castile, where some of the nobles and ricos-hombres had begun to intrigue in favour of the La Cerdas; his presence, however, soon put an end to their projects; most of their partisans changing sides at the king's approach, while some few of the leaders paid for the rashness of their undertaking with their lives.

While this passed in Castile, the new king of Arragon, don Pedro, had been called on to assert his wife Constantia's right to the kingdom of Sicily. The dominion of the house of Anjou had become intolerable in Italy. Success had rendered Charles and his French followers insolent; they presumed to claim a superiority over Rome itself; they offended and insulted the native nobility, and the cruelty displayed by Charles in the execution of Conradin of Suabia, was but one example among

Digitized by Google

many of injustice, violence, and tyranny. The Italians were, besides, mortified at the dominion of strangers, whom their prejudices scarcely allowed them to consider as better than barbarians, and a deep-settled hatred became the only feeling with which they regarded them. One man, a native of an island opposite to the beautiful shores of Naples, John of Procida, resolved on driving these tyrants out of his country: he was rich, and he had been the friend of Manfred of Suabia, and saw with indignation that prince's youngest daughter, Beatrice, a wretched prisoner in the hands of Charles of Anjou, who had shown by his conduct to Conradin, that little reliance was to be placed on his faith, and none on his mercy. This John of Procida had been deprived of his estates by Charles of Anjou, and had taken refuge in Arragon, where he had received lands in Valencia from the king don Jayme, and whence he narrowly watched the proceedings of the new king of Naples. On the first favourable opportunity, he repaired to the court of Arragon, where he laid before Peter the state of the country, and assured him that the claims of Constance would find almost as many supporters as there were men in Sicily; his negociation was secret, and, as it appears, confided to none but the king himself, or at most, to him and to Constance. But Peter began to assemble a fleet, to collect warlike stores, and raise troops with all diligence, under pretence of an expedition to Tunis to assist the

Digitized by Google

king of that country in some dispute with his subjects. John next proceeded to Viterbo, where pope Nicholas III. then was, and found it easy to engage him in the cause of Constance. Nicholas brooked but ill Charles's assumption of authority in Rome as perpetual senator. He therefore issued a bull limiting the duration of that magistracy, the only remnant of the ancient senate, to one year, and, in the name of the emperor Rodolph, he also deprived Charles of the dignity of vicar, or lieutenant of the empire. Having thus far succeeded, John next passed over into Sicily, where he saw privately every one of the ancient nobles, and having convinced them of the favour of the pope and the support of Arragon, prepared them for a general revolt. From Sicily, the indefatigable emissary proceeded to Constantinople, where he obtained money from Michael Palæologus, who was happy to assist, though secretly, the enemies of Charles of Anjou, who had married the daughter of Baldwin, count of Flanders, whom Michael had dispossessed of the eastern empire.

Meantime, the preparations of the king of Arragon were jealously watched by the king of France and pope Martin, a Frenchman who had succeeded Nicholas. Peter had placed Lauria at the head of his navy, and was himself embarked on board his fleet and cruising in the neighbourhood of Sicily, still under pretence of a voyage to Tunis. The pope and king Philip each sent an ambassador

Digitized by Google

to require him to declare the purpose of his large armament, when he answered their importunities angrily, saying, he would burn his shirt if he thought it was privy to his secret intentions, and then proceeded to his destined station. So secretly had all the negociations concerning Sicily been carried on, that Charles had not the slightest suspicion that he was on the point of losing his misgoverned kingdom, when an accidental circumstance led to one of the most horrible events recorded in history. During a religious procession on Easter eve, a French soldier insulted a lady at Palermo; the people were provoked, a partial riot occurred, numbers soon joined the rioters, the nobility appeared to favour and protect them, a general rising took place, and spread from city to city: every Frenchman, every woman, every child of that nation was murdered, excepting only one man, William Porcelet, a Provençal governor of Calatafimia, whose character for mercy and benevolence shielded him from the fury of the people even in that moment of revenge. This massacre, which is known by the name of the Sicilian vespers, unpremeditated by the confederacy against Charles, admirably served their intentions; and though filled with horror at the event, they considered it as proceeding from the divine vengeance against the cruel tyranny of Charles, and hastened to profit by it.

Peter's fleet was at hand, he sailed immediately for Palermo, where he was crowned by the unani-

Digitized by Google

mous desire of the people, and his forces were increased by the ships and troops which had been collected in that port for an expedition to reinstate Baldwin in the empire of Constantinople. Meanwhile, Charles had arrived from Naples before Messina, which was defended only by the citizens, but Pedro hastened to relieve it, and Charles was obliged to raise the siege and retire to Naples. But he sent a challenge to Peter to single combat for the kingdom of Sicily, on the plain near Bourdeaux, promising to bring no more than a hundred knights to keep the lists, and requesting that the king of Arragon would bring the same number. Peter, though brave and knightly as became a king, laughed openly at the folly of the challenge, and is said to have gone disguised to the place of meeting for the pleasure of ridiculing the French prince, who, with his hundred knights, kept the field every day till the term of the challenge was expired. The spot assigned for the duel then belonged to the king of England, and numbers of knights had assembled from every nation in Europe to witness the extraordinary combat.

But the king of Arragon was otherwise employed. He sent his wife Constantia to Sicily, with full and sovereign powers for the government of that island, while he provided at home for the wars with which he was threatened by all the partisans of the house of Anjou. The care of the seas he committed to Roger de Lauria, the

Digitized by Google

bravest and most skilful seaman, and the most successful naval commander that ever appeared in modern times before the age of De Ruyter and Blake.

Peter had, however, a domestic enemy to combat before he could turn his attention to his foreign opponents. One of the Laras had taken possession of the town and castle of Albaracin on the frontiers of Castile and Arragon, whence he made most destructive inroads on both countries, disturbed the public peace, and threatened the security of the government. It was necessary to get rid of this source of disturbance, in order to be at liberty to provide for more distant warfare. He therefore laid siege to Albaracin, which was garrisoned with Navarrese and Frenchmen, and defended itself obstinately, until Lara, seeing that its fall was inevitable, fled, and the garrison instantly surrendered. Peter set the whole of the soldiers at liberty, and bestowed the government of the fortress on his natural son, don Hernando.

Philip III. of France, who had determined to support his uncle Charles of Anjou, having persuaded Jayme king of Mallorca, Peter's brother, to allow him a free passage through Roussillon, now invaded Arragon. The pope at the same time excommunicated Peter for his usurpation of a feof of the holy see, and in case of his refusing to give up Sicily, declared him no longer worthy of the crown of Arragon; and therefore dethroned him, to make

Digitized by Google

room for Charles of Valois, a brother of the king of France. But he was not of a nature to be terrified by the pope's bulls, and ridiculed them accordingly, signing himself only "*knight* of Arragon, lord of the sea, and father of three kings," leaving it to Charles of Valois to assume the *title* of king of Arragon if he pleased. He made equally light of Philip's request that he would set the La Cerdas at liberty, not choosing to involve himself in war with Castile.

The war with France was now becoming serious: though no great battle was fought, towns and castles were daily attacked, and posts lost and won on the frontiers. In Sicily, the eldest son of Charles was a prisoner in the hands of Constance, whose prudence had saved his life and those of seventy of his companions from the fury of the populace, by pretending that she could not dispose of them untill she received orders from the king her husband. The prince had been taken by Lauria in a great naval victory obtained over the ships of France and Naples; and Peter determined not to release him unless the crown of Sicily were acknowledged by the pope to belong to that of Arragon. Charles of Anjou himself, worn out with anxiety more than infirmity or age, died at Foggia in Apulia, and was succeeded in his pretensions by his son Charles II. Roger de Lauria, after taking Tarento, sailed to the assistance of Peter against the French naval forces in the bay of Roses. He took

Digitized by Google

fifteen of the largest galleys, with their admiral John Scot; and forced eleven more to retreat in a very bad state to the ports of France. Nearly at the same time the king of Arragon gained a decided victory over Philip's troops near Gerona, and the campaign was ended by the unexpected death of the king of France at Perpignan in the middle of October; and before the year ended, his enemy Peter the third, surnamed the Great, king of Arragon, also expired. On his death-bed, the archbishop of Taragon, from decency, absolved him from the sentence of excommunication which Martin had pronounced against him; and he was buried in the Church of the Holy Cross at Villa Franca, where he died at the age of forty-six, in the tenth year of his reign, leaving the crown of Arragon to his eldest son Alonzo, and that of Sicily to Jayme, at that time with his mother at Palermo. This king was of an agreeable aspect and gentle manners. He was generally beloved, excelled in all kinds of martial exercises, and was courteous and liberal.

While the king of Arragon was thus engaged in foreign disputes, don Sancho of Castile had renewed the war with the Moors. Abu Jusef had begun his new campaign by ravaging the lands of Malaga, and other parts of the king of Grenada's dominions; that prince, therefore, sought the assistance and alliance of Sancho of Castile; their united forces obtained some advantage over Abu Jusef, and had prepared to besiege him in Algeziras, when his death for a moment suspended their

Digitized by Google

operations. But as his son and successor Abu Jucub showed a disposition equally hostile, the war was renewed; and in the following spring, the whole of Abu Jucub's fleet was burnt by the admiral of Castile in the sight of a numerous army, which from the shore contemplated with grief and rage the destruction of the most effective part of the forces of Marocco. This victory was followed by the capture of Tarifa, whose government Sancho entrusted to a noble knight named don Guzman *.

The feuds that had disturbed and disgraced the family of Alonzo the wise, continued to afflict the reign of his son. Don John, brother to Sancho, having quarrelled with the king, went over to Africa, where he induced Abu Jucub to lend him forces to attempt the recovery of Tarifa. Don John had with him in his train a youth, the son of Guzman the governor of the place. By his means he trusted, should his first attack by force of arms fail, to get possession of the town; but disappointed in that, as well as beaten in the field, he brought out the lad before the walls, and threatened that if Tarifa was not instantly given up, he would put him to death. Guzman came to the battlements, looked earnestly at his son, spoke not a word in answer, but threw his sword into the midst of the enemy. The enraged Moors instantly seized the boy, and cutting off his head, threw it to his wretched parent. But he kept the post committed

* Ancestor of the dukes of Medina Sidonia.

Digitized by Google

to him, and soon after the besiegers marched away to find some easier conquest.

Tarifa was a place of such importance to the Moors of Spain, that Muhamad of Grenada offered to purchase it from the king of Castile, who, however, refused to sell it; and the dispute occasioned by this refusal led to a war, in which Sancho gained Quesada and Alcabdat with several other smaller places: but he did not long enjoy his victories, for he died the same year at Toledo, in the eleventh year of his reign. He was prudent, sagacious and just: a great warrior, and skilful in council: but addicted to cruelty. a vice which alienated the affections of his people, and filled his reign with disturbances in which even his own brothers were often compelled to take part against him. But the man who gave him most uneasiness and caused the greatest disorders was Juan de Lara, whose power was however, such, that he felt it prudent to appoint him, jointly with his queen, the Great Maria, to the guardianship of his son, then a child of ten years of age. The queen donna Maria by the strength of her character and the gentleness of her manners, had contributed much to the security of Sancho's reign. His enemies, aware of her importance, had on one occasion attempted to induce him to divorce her, and accept a sister of the king of France, under pretence that being his first cousin their marriage was not lawful; but her prudence overcame all difficulties, and she continued to the

Digitized by Google

end of his life to be his best and most trusted counsellor.

Meantime the young king of Arragon had resolved not to assume the crown until he had conquered Mallorca, which his father had charged him to do in revenge for the assistance afforded by Jayme to France, by allowing the troops of Philip a passage through Roussillon. As soon as this enterprise was achieved, he repaired to Zaragoza, where he was solemnly crowned.

In the year 1290, after many fruitless attempts at negotiation, Edward of England having offered his mediation, peace was established between the new kings of France and Arragon, and the latter demanded Eleanor daughter of Edward in marriage. By the same treaty the infants of La Cerda were released from confinement, on condition that they should repair to the court of their cousin Philip of France, and not cause any troubles in Spain by the assertion of their claims. It was also agreed that Charles the lame of Naples should be set at liberty by Constance, who remained at Palermo. The next year the peace was finally concluded: Charles of Valois renounced his claim to the title of king of Arragon, conferred upon him by pope Martin, and Alonzo on the other hand agreed to withdraw all his subjects from Sicily. The latter article was peculiarly offensive to Constance, and her son Jayme; who complained that they were

Digitized by Google

given up by their son and brother, who most ought to have supported them. But though Alonzo had promised to recall the Arragonese, no measures were adopted to enforce their obedience, and Jayme continued to reign in Sicily until the next year, when he was recalled to Spain by the unexpected death of Peter, just as he was preparing to proceed to Bayonne to meet the English princess destined for his wife. Alonzo had displayed great talents, virtue, and energy of character, and his death was deeply lamented by his subjects. But none of his family were deficient in great qualities. Jayme, who succeeded him in Arragon, left a younger brother Frederic at Palermo, and the Sicilians, although Jayme was inclined to fulfil the treaty with the French party for the surrender of their island, resolved to support Frederic, whom they regarded as their natural defender against the tyrannical house of Anjou.

Jayme II. was no sooner crowned at Zaragoza, than the envoys of the La Cerdas and of don Sancho of Castile, each sought his friendship and support. But the party of the La Cerdas was contemptible, and their pretensions to the crown of Castile appeared desperate; especially since, by the queen's management, don Juan Nunez de Lara had abandoned their party, and Sancho had contracted his son and heir Ferdinand to the infanta Constance of Portugal. Jayme, therefore, preferred an alliance with Sancho,

Digitized by Google

and to draw it the closer, asked the hand of donna Isabel, Sancho's daughter, then only ten years old, in marriage.

The nuptial ceremonies were performed at Calatayud and were followed by feasts and rejoicings, with tournaments and other warlike games, in which the great admiral Roger de Lauria particularly distinguished himself.

On this occasion the grandees of Arragon, who had always shown a jealous regard for freedom, and who during the last reign had claimed a right to regulate the king's expenses, agreed to desist from some of their harshest demands on their sovereign; and many of them, who had been engaged in inveterate private war, became reconciled to each other and to the king.

But this marriage with donna Isabel was dissolved three years afterwards, and Jayme married Blanche, daughter of Charles, king of Naples, who brought a dowry of seventy thousand pounds of silver. At the same time he renounced the crown of Sicily, with that part of Calabria which his father had conquered, and recalled anew the Arragonese from those countries; by a secret article Arragon was to receive the investiture of the disputed feof of Cerdagne and that of Corsica from the pope. But the Sicilians, as we have seen, refused to submit to Charles; and Frederic, with Lauria, John of Procida, and Manfred Lanza, appealed to Rome, and in a personal interview with

Digitized by Google

the pontiff, obtained his sanction to the separation of Sicily from Naples, and a promise that Frederic should receive in marriage the daughter of Philip count of Flanders and grand-daughter of the emperor Baldwin. After these negotiations, peace was restored to both Arragon and Sicily. But Castile was soon involved in internal and external war by the death of Sancho, who, as we have seen, expired in 1295.

The accession of don Ferdinand IV. was the signal for disturbances throughout the kingdom; his tender years and the regency of a woman, seemed to leave the ambitious nobles without a check, and accordingly party dissensions arose in every quarter. But Maria's first step, by attaching the commons to her, preserved the kingdom for her son, and provided a firm support in her subsequent difficulties. Sancho had rendered himself extremely unpopular by the imposition of a tax on all the necessaries of life called *Sisa*; this duty Maria repealed on the coronation of her son, and the general relief was so agreeable to the people, that they continued faithful to her cause throughout the civil wars. The cortes of the kingdom assembled at Valladolid; when the king's uncle don Henrique, who had long been a prisoner in the hands of Charles of Anjou who had taken him together with the unfortunate Conradin, under pretence of protecting the young Ferdinand, assumed the charge of the government, and had sufficient influ-

Digitized by Google

ence to persuade the nobles to support his pretension; but the care of her son's education was committed to Maria. By the will of Sancho, his youngest son Henrique was to inherit the lordship of Biscay as a conquered country, from whence he had expelled the Haros; but no sooner was he dead than Diego de Haro, with a body of troops from Navarre, seized upon most of the strong places of that province, where he was joined by the Laras, who bitterly resented the assumption of the government by don Henrique to the exclusion of Juan de Lara, whom Sancho had appointed joint regent with the queen.

Besides these contentions for the regency, two pretenders to the crown appeared. Don John, the brother of don Sancho, aided by Diniz or Dionysius, king of Portugal, invaded the western frontiers, claiming the same right as that by which Sancho had succeeded, to the exclusion of the infants of La Cerda.

On the eastern frontier don Alonzo de la Cerda, styling himself king of Castile and Leon, appeared supported by the king of Arragon, to whom the young prince resigned his title to the kingdom of Murcia as the price of his assistance. His cause was likewise espoused by Yolanda, the grandmother both of Ferdinand and Alonzo, and by the kings of France, Portugal, and Grenada; and the kingdom was threatened with total dissolution, the La Cerdas having consented to its entire dis-

Digitized by Google

membering as the price of the recovery of their titles: and the united armies entered the devoted country early in the spring of 1296. Alfonso de la Cerda was proclaimed king of Castile at Sahagun; and nearly at the same moment, don John at Leon assumed the title of king of Leon, Gallicia, and Seville. But in the meantime, Maria had conciliated the noble Haros, who, although they had seized irregularly their ancient lordship of Biscay, saw with regret the dangers that threatened the state. The La Cerdas were soon driven into France. Don Henry collected a sufficient army to arrest the progress of Mahomet, king of Grenada, who had invaded Andalusia, and though beaten by the Moors in a pitched battle, yet saved time and prevented the course of their successes. A small fortress near Sahagun detained the Arragonese till August; when the cortes of Castile assembled a second time at Valladolid to consider of the state of the kingdom.

It was then that don Henrique, in order to gain his own particular objects, proposed to the queen, donna Maria the Great, to marry some powerful lord or prince, who might aid her cause, and that of her orphan son. But she disdained the counsel, and told him she would trust to God that the widow and the orphan should neither be oppressed by open enemies nor circumvented by false friends. She then appealed to the people; they rallied round her; a numerous army was raised, the true Cas-

Digitized by Google

tilian gentlemen came forward, and at the head of them the noble Guzman, who had not hesitated before to sacrifice his dear son to his country. The efforts of that brave man to guard Andalusia were successful; his letters to Arragon and Portugal in behalf of his infant king, though disregarded at the moment, failed not to produce their effect. And though peace was not made, nor the pretensions of the princes John and Alonzo formally renounced, the proceedings against Castile were suspended, and after the third cortes held at Valladolid, 1297, agreeing to supply money and troops, the kingdom assumed a posture of defence that saved it in the end.

Donna Maria spared no effort to conciliate the Portuguese, and as her son was now advancing in age, renewed the contract made for him by his father with donna Constantia, offering at the same time her daughter Beatrice, with the towns of Olivenza and Conguella as a dowry, to the son of don Diniz. The only equivalent Diniz would grant for this dowry was the assistance of three hundred chosen men at arms, under don Juan Alonzo de Albuquerque, against the enemies of Castile; but these were thankfully received, as an earnest that the Portuguese frontier would remain unmolested. The king of Arragon was occupied in an obstinate war with his brother, Frederic of Sicily. He had engaged to assist his wife's brother, Charles, king of Naples, to recover that island,

Digitized by Google

and had brought over Roger de Lauria to his side; probably, indeed, that great commander considered Jayme as his rightful sovereign, and therefore obeyed him. The success of Arragon and Naples was various. The first naval battle was in favour of Frederic; in the second he was overcome and narrowly escaped with his life; the Sicilians had put to death John, the nephew of Roger de Lauria, hence he had a new motive for exertion in the cause of Arragon; but Frederic was too firmly seated in Sicily to be easily overthrown, and after some faint efforts against him, the king of Arragon was obliged to quit the shores of Italy entirely, and to return to his Spanish dominions, as some historians say, because the pope failed in his promised subsidies, while others attribute his secession from Charles to the more creditable cause, that he could not bear to witness or assist in the ruin of his brother. However that may be, Frederic maintained his kingdom of Sicily, and afterwards married one of the daughters of his competitor, and Jayme returned to Zaragoza.

Donna Maria had, in the meantime, conducted the affairs of Castile so prudently, that don John, the king's uncle, had renounced his claim to Leon and Gallicia, and had taken in lieu the lordships of certain towns and forts, obliging himself to do service against the other enemies of the kingdom. The peace with Portugal continued, and in 1301 the infanta Constantia was finally conducted to

Digitized by Google

Valladolid, the permission of the court of Rome having been previously obtained, in order to prevent any future altercation on account of the relationship of the parties.

A circumstance most fortunate for Castile occurred about the same period. Muhammad Myra, the king of Grenada, whose great qualities and successes in war had justly alarmed the queen mother, died as he was about to besiege Jaen in 1302. He was succeeded by one of the most beautiful of men, the prince Abu Abdala Muhammad, whose mind was as accomplished as his person was agreeable. But his love of learning, which led him to pass great part of his nights in study, affected his health, and principally his eyesight, so that his enemies conceived hopes of success from his infirmity, and both the Christians and Moors attacked him. His first expedition was against the town of Almondhar, which he conquered; and the principal prize he took, though the riches were great and the precious things of great price, was a beautiful damsel. She was led into Grenada in triumph, seated on a magnificent car, surrounded by the loveliest girls of her native place, and all the people admired the good fortune of the king. But the fame of her beauty spread even to Africa, and so excited the curiosity of the king of Marocco that he sent an embassy to Grenada to entreat Muhammad, if he would save his life, to send the lady to him. The generous Muhammad complied,

Digitized by Google

although he loved her and would have made her his wife; but he preferred his friend's happiness to his own, and made the sacrifice. The blindness of Muhammad, whether complete or only the effect of overstrained application, was of less consequence to his military affairs than his enemies had hoped; his brother-in-law, Ferag ben Nasar, commanded his armies, and seldom returned unsuccessful from the field.

But although the Castilians had been obliged by him in 1306 to raise the siege of Algeziras, they were two years afterwards successful in an attack on Gibraltar, which they surprised, knowing it to be ill-garrisoned. The inhabitants all retired to Africa; and one of them, a very aged man, is said to have addressed don Ferdinand, who was himself present at the siege, as follows: "What misery is mine! that I am thus banished again, even in my old age! Thy great-grandfather Ferdinand drove me out of Seville, and I fled to Xeres; thy grandfather Alonzo banished me from that also to Tarifa: there thy father Sancho came, and with my people I fled from him hither as to a place of certain refuge; but thou hast found me, and at the end of life I have again to seek a home. I will now try if Africa can shelter me, and afford peace to my few remaining days."

The next year a new expedition against the Moors was undertaken; and on that occasion, don Alonzo de la Cerda, surnamed the Disinherited,

Digitized by Google

promised not to disturb Spain by his pretensions during the Moorish wars, but to serve in the armies of Ferdinand.

The eyes of all Europe were now turned to a tragedy, of which the scene lay in France. The great power and riches of the knights templars, their pride and their independence, had excited the jealousy of most of the sovereigns of Europe, and the dislike of the people. Philip the Fair of France resolved on their destruction; and two wretches were found, one a knight of the order, the other a burgess of Beziers, who, when called on by the king, accused the whole body of the most wicked, the most foolish, and the most incredible crimes. In vain did they attempt to exculpate themselves; Philip arrested all those in France, and threw them into prison: and at a council held at Vienne in 1311, the pope published an injunction to all Christian kings to follow the example of Philip, to seize their possessions, secure their persons, and even to put the knights to the torture, or to destroy them, unless they renounced their vows or abjured their opinions. The king of England openly remonstrated in their favour. The cortes of Arragon had pronounced that torture was unfit to be employed in a Christian country, notwithstanding the recent establishment of the inquisition in that kingdom; and as the templars were connected throughout Spain with the best and noblest families, it appears not im-

Digitized by Google

probable that the greater number actually in the country at that time were so speedily incorporated with the other three great orders, that they generally escaped the fate of their brethren in France. There, torture was employed wantonly, or only on pretence of discovering crimes, which, if ever committed, it would have been better to have veiled from all human knowledge; and the victims, if driven by agony to false confession, were burnt in mock punishment, or if silent were put to death for obstinacy. The grand-master, James de Molay, and his son, men whose character, rank, and great services to the state should have shielded them from suspicion, together with Guy, dauphin of Auvergne, were tortured till, in the delirium caused by agony, the grand-master acknowledged every thing laid to their charge, though, on recovery, he recanted and asserted their innocence; but it was of no avail. Philip burned to possess the estates and riches of the order, and Molay and Guy were led to the stake, and died proclaiming their innocence in the midst of the flames. It is said that as Molay was expiring, he adjured pope Clement the fifth, who had judged him, to appear before the tribunal of Almighty God within forty days, and Philip within the year. It is certain that both these princes died at the time specified.

If the grand-master really adjured them, they were no doubt conscience-struck for the false accusation, and torture, and murder, of so many in-

Digitized by Google

nocent men. For it is not to be believed that a grand-master and so many knights, among whom were princes conspicuous for their great qualities, and all venerable for age and long services, should have been guilty of the absurd and base and useless crimes laid to their charge *.

Before the persecution of the templars was at an end, the king of Castile died in a manner no less remarkable than Philip the Fair. Two gentlemen of the name of Carvajales had been accused of the murder of a knight, of the lineage of Benavides, within the precincts of the royal palace at Valencia. There was no proof that the Carvajales had committed this outrage: many others were equally accused, and some suffered severe punishment for it; but these brothers had incurred Ferdinand's anger by the boldness of their defence, and he commanded them to be thrown headlong from a steep rock near Martos. As they were led to execution, they called on God, and heaven and earth, to witness their innocence, and summoned the king to meet them in the presence of their supreme Judge, within thirty days. The king appeared to make light of the summons, but he was taken ill a few days afterwards: the words of the gentlemen occurred to him, with the possibility of their innocence; and although the agreeable news of some fresh con-

* The execution of the grand-master did not take place until A. D. 1314.

Digitized by Google

quests over the Moors arrived, he could not recover, but died near Jaen within the given time, on the 7th of September, 1312.

Such are sometimes the effects of conscience on guilty men. His wife Constance scarcely survived him a year. They left two children, Alonzo XI., and donna Eleanor who married the king of Arragon.

He was in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign. His early youth had been passed in the continual agitations of foreign and domestic war, from which the courage and conduct of his mother had rescued him. His own talents seem to have been but moderate, and he is accused of having been too much addicted to the pleasures of the table.



Women on a mule.

The half century that elapsed from the accession of Alonzo the Wise, to the death of his

Digitized by Google

grandson Ferdinand, is marked by an extraordinary advance in the language and literature of Castile; to which Alonzo himself was one of the greatest benefactors, though, as he was brought up in Gallicia, some of his earliest compositions were canticles for the church of St. James of Compostella, in the Gallician dialect.

The introduction of the national tongue into all public writings was of material consequence, as it encouraged its more general cultivation. The publication of the laws of the *siete partidas*, or seven parts, corresponding to the letters of his name, was another great advantage which the Castilian tongue owes to him, besides the translations of several books, and those compositions both in prose and verse which have been mentioned in the history of his life. His most singular work is the *Thesoro*, written in 1272; it is a treatise on the philosopher's-stone, written in cipher and in magical characters. Gil Gonzales de Avila, in his history of the church of Seville, has given the introduction to this curious work, in which the king says, that he had invited a famous chemist from Alexandria, in Egypt, to teach him the art of making gold, that they had often practised it together, and that he had afterwards made it by himself. But alas! the king, if he ever learned any chemical secrets, certainly did not possess the art of making gold, the want of which reduced him to lay those impositions on the people, which led to his ruin. The first paper used by the Chris-

Digitized by Google

tians of Spain was in the reign of Alonzo, who wrote several tracts upon paper, which were preserved to our own times in the cathedral of Toledo. The Arabs had long known and used that admirable substitute for parchment, the elegance and cheapness of which rendered literature much more easy of access.

Alonzo was not the only sovereign whose literary accomplishments served to enlighten the Peninsula at this period; Theobald I. king of Navarre is celebrated for his knowledge, and encouragement of the liberal arts and sciences. He was particularly skilled in music and poetry, and was a good performer on the *vihuella* or *vielle*. Diniz, king of Portugal, was also a poet; and the kings of Arragon seem to have had an hereditary talent for that delightful art.

The astronomical tables of Alonzo prove how great a progress science was making, notwithstanding the distractions of war; and several learned men distinguished Spain during this period. Chief among these was the learned Arnold de Villanova, a physician of Barcelona, whose skill in the different branches of his profession induced the vulgar to report a thousand incredible things of him, and even the learned have attributed to him experiments of the most daring kind.

The celebrated Raimond Lulli also belongs to this period, concerning whom Mariana seems in doubt whether to pronounce his religious rhapsodies as inspired, or as heretical. He wrote up-

Digitized by Google

wards of twenty books in the Catalan dialect, which were highly esteemed at that time, though the major part were afterwards condemned by the holy office.

The attention paid by San Ferdinand, and by Alonzo X. to the collection and revision of the laws and usages of Castile, naturally encouraged the study of law; and among the jurists of this period whose names are preserved, Garcia Hispano of Castile, and Guillen Galvan of Arragon, are the most conspicuous.

The Moorish court of Grenada, if it did not equal in splendour, and in the number of its literary men, the best times of the Omeyads at Cordova, was still distinguished for polite learning. The successors of Alahmar cultivated literature with great success, and assembled around them all who were eminent in learning or science. One of Muhammad the Second's favourites was the historian Abu Abdala Muhammad, a virtuous man, who became the companion and minister of his successor; and the poets of Grenada were so numerous, that it would be difficult to name them. Many of the ballads with which the Spanish writers have adorned their works, and which are confessedly taken from the Arabs, belong to this time. They are characterised by great tenderness of sentiment, and a chivalrous spirit generally runs through the whole of them.

The taste of the Moors for elegant architecture had not abated. The great mosque of Grenada

Digitized by Google

was built, 1306; it was lined and inlaid with jasper, porphyry, and other costly stones. Magnificent public baths were also constructed in the same city, and its suburbs were adorned with public gardens and walks.

But although both Moors and Christians were advancing in many points, there were others in which they seem to have stood still, if not to have gone back. They had both become more bigoted to their own faith, and less tolerant of that of others. The crusades had produced this, among some other evils and some advantages; though doubtless the ambition of the pontiffs, who had determined at any price to subject the faith of the whole earth to their authority, was the main cause. The dreadful effects of that evil spirit had appeared in the persecution of the Albigenses. The inquisition, invented by Dominic for the suppression of that sect, had been found too powerful an engine of command to be abandoned. In 1232, Gregory IX. addressed a brief recommending it to the archbishop of Tarragona, and he in turn sent the bull to his suffragans; but the bishop of Lerida appears to have been the first to establish one of those cruel courts in his diocese. Twenty years afterwards the rights of inquisitors with the extent of their jurisdiction were increased; and a decree was passed declaring the depositions of witnesses to be valid, although their names should remain unknown. In 1301 it was decreed that Spain should be divided into two religious pro-

Digitized by Google

vinces: the first, called Spain, was to comprehend Castile and Portugal; and the second, which was to be called Arragon, was to contain Catalonia, Valencia, Roussillon, and the islands adjacent. Grand inquisitors were appointed to each province. The great use made of the inquisition in the first fifteen years of the fourteenth century was the persecution of the knights templars; and this purpose, though not so completely fulfilled in Spain as in France, was yet so far answered as that several of these unfortunate gentlemen were burned in autos da fe. In vain did the cortes of Arragon protest against the use of torture; the inquisitors owned not any temporal jurisdiction, and if they did not publicly infringe the laws of the country, their secret dungeons became the more horrible.



Fountain of Lions, Alhambra.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

INDEX

TO THE

FIRST VOLUME.

Abdalla ben Yasun, 299
Abdalla, son of Abdulrahman I., 135, 139, 142, 143
———, son of Abdulrahman III., 219, 220
———, caliph, 178—183
——— Mehedi, 330—333
Abdelmelic, 131, 132, 133, 256, 257
——— ben Cotan, 107, 108
Abdelmumen, 330, 331, 332, 333, 341, 342, 344, 345
Abderahman, 256, 257, 258
Abderaman, 102, 105, 106, 107
Abdul Gafir Meknesi, 131
Abdulasis, or Abdulaziz, 87, 89, 91, 96, 97, 98, 99
Abdulhamet, 176
Abdulrahman I., caliph, 112, 113, 122—128, 129, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136
——— II., 155—159, 161—167
——— III., 199—204, 212—223, 229, 230
——— IV., 260
——— V., 260, 261
Abdulruf, 159, 160
Abelex, 9, 10
Aben Abed, king of Seville, 277, 297, 298, 301, 302, 303
Abed Hud, king of Seville, 406, 407, 413
Abenzoar, 349
Abid Dowlah, 413
Abu Mohammad, king of Grenada, 481
Abu Giaffar Almanzor, 129, 130
Abu Jucub, king of Marocco, 471
Abu Jusef, king of Marocco, 453, 459, 460
Adolphus, Visigothic king of Narbonese Gaul, 35
Ætius, count, 38
Affonso, or Alphonso, king of Portugal, 334, 338, 339, 365, 375
Agriculture, state of, 153, 249, 350, 386
Ahmed ben Said, 222, 223, 241
Alaric I., 34, 35
——— II., 43, 44, 45
Albigenses, 391—393
Alcama, 100
Alhakem I., caliph, 142—147

Digitized by Google

Alhakem II., 243—250
Alhamar I. Moorish king of Grenada, 415—417, 419, 420, 421, 438—440, 449, 450
——— II., 450, 451, 481
Alhambra, palace of, 415, 416; Fountain of Lions in, 491
Alhassan, 246, 247, 248
Alhaur, 101
Alhaz Yahix, 353, 354
Alheitam ben Obeid, 104
Ali, an Almoravide caliph, 310, 324, 328, 341
Alkinza, 145
Alla ben Mogueis, 129, 130
Allutius, 13
Almagreb, country of, 246
Almamun, Moorish king of Toledo, 287—289, 293
———, caliph, 405—407
Almanzor, 250—255
———, Moorish king of Valencia, 284
Almeria, siege of, 338
Almohades, 341
Almondhir, caliph, 175, 176, 177
Almoravides, 298—300, 303, 310, 311, 324, 327
Almudafar, Moorish king of Valencia, 284
Almuhahidines, 329
Alonzo I., king of Arragon, 321, 322, 323, 324, 326, 335, 336, 370
——— I. (or the Catholic), king of Leon, 108, 114
——— (or Alphonso) II., 138, 160, 161
——— III., the Great, 172—174, 179, 180, 183, 184
——— IV., the Monk, 209
Alonzo V., 264
——— VI., 286—298, 302, 311
——— VII. (king of Castile and Leon, and emperor), 321, 323, 337, 338, 343, 346, 347, 348
——— VIII. (the Noble), 357, 358, 361, 365, 367, 369, 371, 372, 373, 374, 376, 381. His issue, 382
——— IX., 400, 401, 408, 409
——— X. (the Wise), 431, 433—437, 439, 441, 445, 446, 447—449, 452, 455, 458, 459—462, 487, 488
Alphabetical characters, 3
Alsama, 102
Alvelda, battle of, 167
Ameid Dola, Moorish king of Zaragoza, 326
Amalric, a Gothic king of Spain, 46
Ambiza, 102, 103, 104
Amirs of Spain, series of, 120, 121
Amusements, 352
Anathagild, king, 49
Andobal, 9, 13, 15
Annius (Caius), 21, 22
Arabs of Spain, manners, &c. of, 116—118
Architecture, Gothic, 76, 186; Arab, 117; Moorish, 148, 152, 153, 154, 232, 233
Argantonio, 3
Armies, how levied and supported, 344
Arms, 118
Arragon, cortes of, 196, 197
Ascaliolas, sheiks, 438, 439, 452, 453

Digitized by Google

Asdrubal, 5
——— the younger, 7, 10, 13, 14
Ased el Xebeni, 131
Athara, sultana, 182
Aurelius, 130
Averroes, 349
Avitus, 39, 40
Aynar, 114
Azala, or Worship of Fear, 333
Aznar, count of Arragon, 195, 196

Bada, 52, 53
Badona, 53
Balearic Islands, 407, 408
Battle, naval, on the Guadalquivier, 418
Benjamin of Tudela, 384
Berenguela, queen, 400, 401, 402, 409
Bermudo II., king of Leon, 262, 264
——— III., 265, 278, 279
Bernardo, don, the deacon, 138
——— de Carpio, 160, 161
Bertram count of Toulouse, 327
Borrel, Berenger, count of Barcelona, 275

Cæpio, Quintus Servilius, 16
Calatrava, knights of, 334, 356, 357, 387
Caleb ben Hafsun, 179
Caliphs of the East, to whom Spain was subjected, 120. Of Damascus, 109
Captives, society for the deliverance of, 403
Carthagena, siege of, 11, 12
Carvajales, brothers, fate of, 485
Cassim, 132
Castenus, 37
Caxilona, 64
Cerda, Alonzo de la, 477, 478
Charlemagne, 133, 134
Charles Martel, 106, 107, 114, 115
Charles I. of Anjou, king of Naples and Sicily, 444, 445, 464, 465—467
——— II. 469
Childebert, 46
Chindasuinto, 57
Chintila, 57
Christianity planted in Spain, 30
Christina, princess of Denmark, 431
Cid: see Rodrigo
Ciponius, 77
Clotilda, 46
Clovis, king of the Franks, 43, 44, 45
Coins of Cadiz and Carthagena, 27; Jewish and Arabic, 80
Cordova, mosque of, 122, 135, 152, 187; gate of, 184; siege and capture of, 410, 411
Cordovan leather, 193.
Conrad IV. king of Naples and Sicily, 443, 444
Conradin, prince, 445
Costumes, Biscayan, &c. 313; of Navarre, 320

Damascus, caliphs of, 109
Domestic manners in the twelfth century, 315
Dominic, St. 394, 395, 396

Digitized by Google

Dracontius, 77
Dress, Arab, 117; Christian and Moorish, in the twelfth century, 316
Duels, 191, 192, 317
——, extraordinary one, 296

Eben el Awam, 350
Edward, prince of Wales, 432
Egas Nunez, 334
Egica, or Egiza, 64, 65, 66
Egilona, queen, 97
Eleanor of Castile, 432
——— of England, 355
——— of Poitiers, 347
Elevation of St. Ferdinand, 390
Ervigio, 63
Eudes, duke of Aquitaine, 114
Eudocia, daughter of the emperor Manuel Comnenus, 362
Euric, 41, 42, 43

Famines, 386
Favila, 108
Female warriors, 317
Ferdinand, king of Castile and Leon, 279, 280, 284, 285, 348
——— II. 353, 355, 357, 361
——— III. (St.) 390, 400, 404, 410, 411, 412, 416, 417, 423, 424
Fernan Gonzalez, count, 227—229
Fez, extraordinary capture of, 341
Flectio, governor of Coimbra, 428
Florinda, daughter of count Julian, 68
Fountain of Lions, 491
Frederic of Suabia, emperor, 443
Frederic of Sicily, 476
Froila I., king of Leon, 128, 129, 130
——— II., 208
Froiluba, donna, 108
Funerals of Spaniards and Moors, 352

Galley, Spanish, 81
Garcia, don, king of Leon, 184
———, don, king of Navarre, 336, 337
——— Iniquez, king of Navarre, 175
——— Ximenes, king of Navarre, 195
Gehwar ben Muhammad ben Gehwar, king of Cordova, 276
Genseric, 37
Geographical divisions of Spain, 119
Gerion, 2
Giaffar, king of Zaragoza, 303, 304
Gibraltar, siege and capture of, 482
Goisuinda, 49, 50, 51
Gonderic, 37
Gondomar, 53
Gorgaris, 3
Goths, state of Spain under the government of, 72—78
Greek authors, translations of, 268
Guadalete, battle of, 70, 71

Digitized by Google

Hachem I., caliph, 126, 135, 138—141
——— II., 250, 256, 258, 259
——— III., 261
———, king of Toledo, 293
——— el Fehri, 129
Hafsun, 173—175
Hamilcar Barca, 4
Hanax ben Abdallah Assemanni, 95
Hannibal, 5, 6, 7
Hanno, 7, 14
Henrique, don, 451
Henry II., king of England, 365, 366
——— of Lorraine, 302
——— of Portugal, 323
———, don, king of Castile, 399
Hercules, 2
Hermenegild, 50, 51
Hodeira, 104

Infants, Moorish ceremony of naming, 271
Ingundis, 51
Inigo Sanchez, king of Arragon, 197
Iniquez, king of Arragon, 197
Innocent III., pope, 372, 373, 393, 399
——— IV., pope, 443
Inquisition, 396, 490, 491
Isidore, St., 56

Jayme I., king of Arragon, 398, 403, 404, 413, 414, 423, 424, 444, 447, 448, 456, 457
——— II., 473, 474
Jews, persecution of, by Sisebert, 54, 55; by Egica, 65
Jezid ben Abdelmalic, 101
John of Procida, 464, 465
Jongleurs, 388
Judicial astrology, 314
Julian, count, 67, 68, 70, 101
Jurisprudence, 149, 150

Kimchi, rabbi David, 318
Knights of Alcantara, 387
——— of Calatrava, 334, 356, 357, 387
——— of St. John of Jerusalem, 333
——— Templars, 333, 336, 387, 483, 484

Language, Spanish, 318
Lara, Gonzalez de, 454
Lauria, Roger de, 457, 467, 468
Laws of Castile, 487
Laynez, Diego, 282
Leather, manufacture of, 192, 193
Leovigild, 50, 52
Library of Alhakem, 236
Literary Societies, 233—235, 240
Literature, state of, 77, 78, 148, 149, 199, 267—270, 314, 315, 318, 319, 349, 350, 383, 384, 424—426, 489
Liuva, 50
Louis the younger, king of France, 347
Lucullus, 15
Lulli, Raymund, 488

Mago, 11
Maharbal, 4
Mahomed ben Hachem, 258
Majorian, 40
Mancinus, Caius Hostilius, 18

Digitized by Google

Mandonio, 9, 13, 15
Manfred, regent of Naples and Sicily, 444, 445
Manufactures, 192, 193
Maria, donna, the Great, 476—480
Marobaudes, 77
Marriage rites of the Moors, 270, 271
Martha, empress of Constantinople, 446
Massinissa, 11
Mathematical Sciences, 314
Mauregat, 137
Mechanics, 353
Merida, Roman trophy and bas relief, found at, 32, 33
———, siege and capture of, by the Arabs, 87, 88
Messiah, pretended, 103, 104
Metellus, 24, 25
Michael, the Stammerer, emperor, 157
Milico, 3
Mohamad, 157—160
Mohammed Abu Abdallah, 370, 375, 376, 377
Mohammad, or Muhammud, Alahmar, king of Grenada, 415—417, 419, 420, 421, 431, 438—440, 449, 450
——— II., 450, 451, 481
Monasteries, 185
Monastic orders, 77; ancient Carmelite in Spain, 72
Moorish warrior, 121; and chief, 243
Moors, domestic habits of, 237—239
Mosque of Cordova, 122, 135, 152
Muhabridines, 328
Muhamad, caliph, 165
Muhammad Abu Abdallah, 169—177
Muhammad ben Ismael ben Abed Abul Cassim, king of Seville, 277
Muhamad Abu Abdilah Aben Hud, 441
Muhammad Myra, king of Grenada, 481
Munuza, 105, 106
Musarabs, 328
Musarabic liturgy, 56—296
Music, state of, 116, 191
Muza ben Noseir, 68, 69, 81, 82, 86, 87, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 99

Narbonne, capture of, by the Arabs, 95
Nepocian, count, 167
Nobilior, Quintus Fulvius, 17
Normans, incursions of, 162, 164
Numantia, siege of, 18, 20

Ocba, 107, 109
Omar ben Aldulasiz, 101
Omeiad caliphs, effects of the establishment of, in Spain, 148, 154
Oppas, archbishop of Seville, 67, 69, 100
Ordonio I., don, king of Leon, 169, 172
——— II., 204, 208
——— III., 224, 225
——— the Bad, 225, 226
Orelio, 130
Orlando, 134
Ossentius, 77
Osset, pretended miracle at, 49
Othman ben Abi Neza, 105
Ozenda Numilona, 138

Digitized by Google

Painting, 233
Palm-tree, address to, 127
Paul, 59, 63
Pedro. *See* Peter
Pedro de Lara, 322, 323
——— de Trava, 323
Pelayo, don, 99, 100, 103, 108
Perpenna, 26
Peter, or Pedro I., king of Arragon, 309, 311, 312
——— II., 370, 372, 373, 396, 397
——— III., 466, 467, 468, 470
——— of Castelnau, 393, 394
Petronilla, queen of Arragon, 360
Philip III., king of France, 468, 470
——— the Fair, king of France, 483, 484
Placidia, 35, 36
Poetry, state of, 116, 187, 188, 189, 190, 314, 350, 425
Pompeius Rufus, 17
Pompey the Great, 25, 26, 27
Pope's spiritual supremacy only acknowledged by the Goths, 77; disputes between the popes and emperors, 442
Popilius, 18
Posts and postmasters instituted, 164
Present, munificent, 241, 242
Private war, 384, 385

Ramirez I., king of Leon, 163, 167, 168
———, or Ramiro II., 209
Ramirez, don Sancho, king of Arragon, 309, 338
Ramon Boniface, 418
Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelone, 325, 327, 328, 346, 348, 360
——— count of Provence, 359
——— count of Toulouse, 394, 395
Recared I., 52
——— II., 55
Rechiarius, 38, 39, 40
Recisuinto, 57
Remismond, 41
Revenues of the caliphs of Cordova, 249
Rica, or Richilda, 359
Roderic, the last Gothic king of Spain, 67—72; romantic tale of, 78—80
Roderick, first count of Castile, 198
——— archbishop of Toledo. *See* Rodrigo
Rodrigo Diaz de Bivar, surnamed the Cid, 281, 283, 291—293, 304—308, 315
——— or Roderick Ximenes, bishop and archbishop of Toledo, 380, 399, 400; cross of, 382
Ruy Velasquez, 263, 264

Saguntum, siege of, 6
Salamanca, university of, 426
Sancho III., king of Navarre, 275
——— VII., king of Navarre, 409
——— I. don, king of Castile, 286, 287, 289, 290
——— II., 348

Digitized by Google

Sancho III., 354
——— the Bold, 462, 463 470, 471
——— the Fat, king of Leon, 225
——— I., king of Portugal, 372, 373
——— II., 428
——— archbishop of Toledo, 451
Santiago monastery, 168; legendary tale of, 279
Scipio, Publius Cornelius, 7, 8, 9, 11
——— Publius Cornelius, the Younger, 11, 12, 13, 14
——— Cneius, 7, 9, 11
——— Æmilianus, 19
Sea-robbers, 163, 164
Segovia, tower of, 155
Sermons, Moorish, 188
Sertorius, 20—26
Seville, arms of, 319; Moorish kingdom of, 406; siege and capture of, 419, 420
Ships, structure of, 75, 76
Sicilian vespers, 466
Siete Partidas, or laws of Castile, 487
Silo, 133, 134, 137
Simon de Montfort, 395—398
Sisebert, 53, 55
Sisenand, 56
Sohaib ben Munia, 238
Spain, emblem of, 1; ancient names and fertility, 1, 2; considered as a Roman province, 15; state of, before the arrival of the Phenicians and Carthaginians, 28, 29; languages anciently spoken there, 29, 30; state of, under the Roman republic and emperors, 31, 32; from the establishment of the Goths, until the overthrow of their kingdom, 33—80; state of, under the Arabs, 115, 118; its geographical divisions, 119, 120; state of, under the Omeiad caliphs, 148—154; state of Christian Spain in the tenth century, 185, 187; and of Moorish Spain, 186, 193; state of Christian Spain in the decline of the Moorish empire, 313—319, 349, 354; state of Moorish Spain in the thirteenth century, 405—407
Spanish language, 319
Spanus, 23
Suintila, 55, 56
Suleiman, 135, 139, 142, 143
——— caliph, 101
Superstition of the twelfth century, 383, 384
Syr ben Bekir, 324

Tarif ben Zeyad, 69—71, 82, 83, 85, 86, 90, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96
Temam ben Alcama, 112, 133
Teresa, queen of Leon, 231
——— queen of Portugal, 409
Theobald, king of Navarre, 409
Theodesil, 49
Theodofred, 66
Theodomir, 91, 92, 93
Theodoric, 38, 39, 40, 41
Theudis, 46, 47, 48
Toledo, siege and capture of, 84, 85

Digitized by Google

Tolosa, battle of, 377, 378, 379
Tombs of the kings of Arragon, 429
Trade of Spain under the Gothic government, 75
Tulca, 57

URRACA, donna, queen of Castile and Leon, 311, 320—323

VANDALS, 34, 36, 37
Vincent (St.), miraculous surplice of, 47
Viriatus, 15, 16
Visigoths, 75

WALDENSES, 391
Walid, caliph, 96
Wallia, 35, 36
Wamba, 58—64
Women, condition of, among the Moors, 239, 240; their influence among the Spaniards, 427
Witiza, 66, 67

XIMENA, 283
——— Nunez, donna, 312

YACUB ALMANZOR, 367, 368, 370
Yahya, Moorish king of Toledo, 293, 294, 303
Yahye ben Ali, 260, 261
——— ben Anesir, sheik, 405
Yusuf Amumemin, 363, 365
——— ben Taxfin, 298—303, 309, 310
——— el Fehri, 125, 126, 128

ZAIDA, queen consort of Alonzo II., 302
Zonarus, a pretended Messiah, 103

END OF VOL. I.

Digitized by Google

LONDON:
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

Digitized by Google

JUN 1 6 1960



Digitized by Google